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Nato meeting reflects a growing US unease

DIE WELT

Business as usual in Brussels was how Nato appeared to the outside world as Nato Defence Ministers met in the Belgian capital for their spring conference and dealt with the prearranged agenda.

One item on it, approval of the US "forces target" of modernising chemical weapons, may be said to have held pride of place. European members of the North Atlantic pact finding it difficult to accept.

Otherwise it was business as usual. Does that mean Nato is basically sound and healthy? Sad to say, it does not.

Closer scrutiny reveals a growing note of irritation in Washington with America's Nato allies.

The latest bone of contention was widespread European failure to appreciate the US bombing of Libya.

A majority of Americans fail to realise why the Europeans were so relatively uncooperative and why the French in particular refused to allow US Air Force planes to overfly France en route from US bases in Britain to Tripoli and Benghazi.

President Reagan is undeniably riding the crest of a wave of American sympathy, due mainly to Washington having done something about international terrorism.

The bombing of Libya condemned in Europe is merely the last link in a chain of disharmony between Europe and America.

Henry Kissinger recently noted that Europe has long felt justified in standing aloof both politically and psychologically from US moves or sanctions in the Third World.

This trend began with the 1973 Yom Kippur War and continued via Afghanistan to European detachment from US policy in connection with the US hostages in Teheran.

It has since found fresh expression in majority condemnation of US policy in Central America and US intervention in Grenada.

In Grenada's case the silly comment made in Bonn ("If we had been consulted beforehand we would have advised against intervention") has not been forgotten. Nowhere has German shortsightedness been more readily apparent.

The Caribbean island is now free of communist insurgency and can afford the open clash of party-political dispute that is the hallmark of democracy just as it can enjoy the fruits of free economic development.

Such US foreign policy successes are not forgotten in Washington, where Eu-

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Chemical arms, troops rumour, dominate talks

Chemical weapons and US troop withdrawal from Europe dominated the first session of Nato's spring conference in Brussels.

They didn't lead to serious clashes although six European members had reservations about US plans to resume the manufacture of chemical weapons in autumn 1987 after a 17-year break.

America only plans to do so if the Soviet Union continues to refuse to come to terms on a verifiable agreement on the elimination of all chemical weapons.

US Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger assured that Washington aims to ban these weapons entirely.

But the United States was bound to consider deterrence in the chemical sector.

Nato intelligence reports say the Soviet Union has amassed a stockpile of about 300,000 tonnes of chemical weapons. The Russians have nearly 100,000 men specially trained in chemical warfare.

As the West has little to set against this manpower or material, experts feel there is an urgent need [illegible] modernisation.

The dispute over Nato's Brussels decision on this point is doubtless by no means over even though it specifies that America's Nato allies in Europe refuse peacetime permission to station new chemical weapons on their territory and reserve the right to refuse permission in the event of crisis.

Rumours of a partial US troop withdrawal from Europe persist. No matter how often US government officials deny them they seem to gain fresh ground.

The last occasion was when the US retaliatory air raid on Libya was directly supported by no Nato country other than Mrs Thatcher's Britain.

Hans-Peter Ott
(Kieler Nachrichten, 23 May 1986)

Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker (right) with Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Özal during state visit to Turkey. (Photo: dpa)

Europe opens new chapter in it ties with Turkey

The nearer the time comes for the European Commission to renew the Community's association treaty with Turkey, the more often Western statesmen and politicians seem to be visiting Ankara.

Bundestag Speaker Philipp Jenninger was a recent visitor to Turkey. He has now been followed by the Bonn head of state, Richard von Weizsäcker.

US Secretary of State George Shultz conferred with the Turkish leaders at the end of March and Claude Cheysson, European commissioner for Mediterranean affairs, is shortly due to visit Ankara.

Britain proposed Turkey for vice-chairman of the Council of Europe, with the result that in November Turkey will automatically chair the Council in Strasbourg.

This gesture by Europeans to a country that has difficulty in consolidating its membership of the continent, enjoyed German support.

Greek was opposed to this European upgrading of neighbouring Turkey.

Western Europe has thus opened a new chapter in ties with Turkey.

Political restraint prevailed after the military coup in 1980 but Western Europe is now clearly prepared to give Turkey a chance of holding its own in the community of European democracies, especially now trouble between Athens and Ankara seems to be brewing.

Greek Premier Andreas Papandreou is claiming with growing intensity that Greece is threatened from the East, i.e. from Turkey, whereas the border with Bulgaria is a frontier of peace.

The majority of Western countries probably takes a more level-headed and accurate view of domestic trends in Turkey in feeling Ankara is capable of sharing responsibility.

Viewed in this light the European upgrading of Turkey will have a profounder political effect regardless whether Turkish workers are granted freedom of residence in European Community countries at the end of this year or, as seems likelier, at the end of 1992, when transitional arrangements for new members Spain and Portugal expire.

This point is the subject of a fresh dispute between Ankara and Athens. Premier Papandreou admits that Turkish Premier Turgut Özal is persistently, unswervingly and skilfully eliminating the drawbacks that politically disqualified Turkey and were no less adroitly used by Mr Papandreou to boost Greece's international standing in relation to Turkey.

Turkey's political landscape is no longer as barren as it was after the 1980 coup even though the activities of permitted parties is indirectly monitored by the armed forces.

Economically too, the sick man of the Bosporus is making surprising progress that is bound to make Mr Papandreou

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IN THIS ISSUE

From B for (US ambassador in Bonn Richard) Burt via K for Kissinger to W for the *Wall Street Journal* American dissatisfaction and impatience with Europe are on the increase.

When the Americans closed ranks round President Reagan after the US bombing of Libya anti-American protest marches were all they saw of Britain, Germany and Italy on their TV screens.

The average American no longer understood the Europeans. He felt proud yet they somehow belittled his pride.

Europeans feel the Americans have succumbed to a fresh bout of isolationism and a Fortress America mentality. They are wrong. Under President Reagan the United States is neither digging in nor taking cover behind the Atlantic and the Pacific.

President Reagan's America is hitting out by staging lightning raids in pursuit of a strategy that might be called Battleship America or, more in keeping with modern military doctrine, Aircraft Carrier America.

President Reagan has been lucky so far. Libya went well, and Grenada before it. In the United States the President is fêted; in European parliaments and the media he is rapped by many.

Slowly but surely Americans in all camps — politicians and intellectuals, the elite and the nameless — are losing patience. Western Europe is well on its way to becoming a millstone round America's neck.

Highly-paid media star Henry Kissinger brought this crisis of the Western alliance to Europe's attention (not for the first time, incidentally) in an essay in the 13 May *Washington Post* excerpted in London by *The Observer* two days earlier.

What he wrote was that there had been disputes between Americans and Europeans over Libya, Nicaragua, Grenada, the US hostages in Teheran, Afghanistan and the 1973 Yom Kippur War — all hot spots outside Nato territory.

The Europeans would soonest be entitled to veto US moves, but they could forget any ideas of that kind; America's responsibility was a global one.

Where do we go from here? Dr Kissinger says America ought to withdraw some of its forces stationed in Europe to serve as a strategic reserve based in the United States and capable of rapid deployment to any of the world's hot spots.

America could then pursue its global responsibility undisturbed, sparing the governments of Nato countries domestic unrest into the bargain.

In other words, the United States as a world power feels fenced in by Nato, a regional pact. US forces are longer to be caught in the trip-wires of European regionalism.

Nato's geographical terms of reference are too narrowly defined for America's global responsibility. A loosening of ties could well benefit both: America geostrategically, Western Europe in domestic political terms.

The result would be a deep rift in the alliance — between powerful America, intent on gaining the freedom to intervene on all the seven seas and in all parts of the world, and powerless Western Europe, which would no longer have any right to a say further afield than the Mediterranean.

Dr Kissinger says this need not necessarily be the case. He advises Europeans to close ranks and set up a European defence community.

US ambassador in Bonn Richard Burt agrees, recalling the power imbalance between the United States and every Western European country.

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Americans wonder why Europe acts as it does



Is there any way of morally rearming with pride and self-confidence the nations of Western Europe, worn out by two world wars and subsequent decolonisation?

There certainly is, says Mr Burt: by means of a more influential Europe. In the long term a united Europe is indispensable if the Western alliance is to survive.

Mr Burt in an interview with *Quick*, the German illustrated weekly, and Richard Perle of the Pentagon at a press conference in Washington have both said America has no plans to withdraw US forces from Europe.

To heal the wounds that have been inflicted on the alliance (Dr Kissinger refers to bitterness in the USA, Mr Burt to the risk of irreversible erosion of Nato) the Americans have resurrected the idea of a United States of Europe and its military twin, the European Defence Community.

Otherwise, they argue, the gap between American power and European impotence would steadily widen and the foundations of the alliance would be unintentionally pulled from under those responsible.

The prospect of Nato's decline and *fall as a result of the impotence of individual* European countries is one US fundamentalists feel ought to be tackled on a long-term basis and not just in a makeshift manner as a result of dissatisfaction due to emotional clashes over Libya or Nicaragua.

Philosophical heavyweights are not alone in voicing views on the state of relations between the United States and Western Europe; so do numerous political lightweights.

They call for the de-Americanisation of European defence; arguing that the holy cow of Nato must at long last be tackled, especially given the need for cuts in US defence spending.

They juggle with pocket calculators and tell us that 35 per cent of US defence spending is in or for Europe, where two out of three GIs stationed overseas are based. This state of affairs cannot, they argue, go on for good.

If the Europeans feel threatened by the Soviet Union they must increase taxes to pay for men, arms and equipment of their own. Anything else would be folly.

Some hold forth the promise of backup from US land-, sea- and airborne missiles. Others blandly write that Europe may still be able to buy missiles in the United States but can no longer expect to buy forces manpower from Uncle Sam.

Lulling themselves reassuredly in the shade of America's nuclear umbrella, Europeans persist in believing Washington would still run the risk of a nuclear holocaust in the New World to come to their assistance.

Right-wing conservative thinker Irving Kristol for one feels that has long ceased to make sense, while influential columnist William Safire writes that "we Americans ought to wish the Europeans all the best and only pursue our own interests."

These casual comments are voiced by right-wingers but printed in influential newspapers, emotionally inciting dissatisfaction and annoyance with what Dr Kissinger calls Europe's "radical peace movements and militant church groups that stage anti-American demonstrations."

The disappointment with Europeans felt by US intellectuals and politicians could be transformed into unbounded irritation if Europe were to morally equate Americans and Russians, implying that there is nothing to choose in ideology and methods between Washington and Moscow.

This moral equidistance makes Americans hopping mad. Former US ambassador to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick says that if freedom can no longer be distinguished from despotism then the erosion of the foundations of Western democratic civilisation is far advanced and the situation is really serious.

Former State Department undersecretary for European affairs Lawrence Eagleburger recently told know-all Europe how he now feels in a speech to students at a degree conferral ceremony.

Mr Eagleburger, who has argued in the past that America ought to realign itself toward the Pacific and Japan, asked who was to blame for the trials and tribulations of the 20th century.

European diplomacy *was, he felt,* to blame.

Hans Wilhelm Vahlefeld

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 24 May 1986)

Nato's spring meeting

Continued from page 1

ropeans are asked whether they feel the United States must play on its own the part of the power defending Western freedom and keeping Soviet subversion at bay.

Washington sees with growing clarity that limiting Nato to a specific treaty area has become a political anachronism.

Given the range of strategic weapons and given reciprocal economic, financial, technological and communications ties, a pact such as Nato can no longer afford to say that what goes on beyond its treaty area is of no concern.

Conversely, Nato can hardly said to be in a sound state when America did not even see fit to give Nato's political head, secretary-general Lord Carrington, prior notice of the US bombardment of Libya.

Lord Carrington was only briefed afterwards. That is not likely to make him feel sympathetic toward one side or the other, but he is bound to wonder why the Americans snubbed the Europeans.

America in particular is growing steadily more uneasy about a growing divergence of views on Nato's role in connection with the future stationing of US forces in Europe.

Dr Kissinger advocates the withdrawal of a substantial section of US service personnel from Europe and calls on the Europeans to concentrate their resources and do more for their own defence.

His argument that units withdrawn to the United States would be freed of the fetters that beset them by being based in Europe is surely one that ought to sound the alarm in Europe.

Europeans must come to realise that the United States is only going to accept its commitment to come to their defence if the Europeans accept this facility as a reciprocal arrangement.

In other words, as a "hot" war between East and West in Europe seems virtually inconceivable at present whereas the international struggle with the Soviet Union has taken on a fresh shape in, say, Nicaragua, America's allies must continue to see themselves as partners of the United States and to act accordingly.

They must contribute their fair share both to Nato and to other cooperative arrangements that may yet be made, always assuming further cooperation is what they want.

Rüdiger Moniac

(Die Welt, Bonn, 23 May 1986)

New links with Turkey

Continued from page 1

stop and think. Between 1980 and 1986 the Greek GNP has increased by only 1.7 per cent whereas Turkey's GNP growth rate has been 25 per cent.

In foreign trade the disparity is even more drastic. During this period Greek exports were up by 17.1, as against Turkey's 191.3 per cent.

When it finally throws in its lot with the European Community Turkey will carry economic weight, although Greece holds high trumps in this particular game.

Turkey's association treaty with the European Community was signed in 1963 and put on ice in 1980 after the military coup. Greece must agree to a protocol reactivating the treaty.

It will only do so if the 60,000 Greeks expelled from Istanbul over 20 years ago, losing everything they owned, are indemnified by the Turkish government.

The value of the property forfeited is estimated at $200m at 1964 prices.

Greece would also only be prepared to approve the protocol if the European Commission were to guarantee that freedom of residence for Turkish workers does not extend to Greece.

Georg von Huebbenet

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 26 May 1986)

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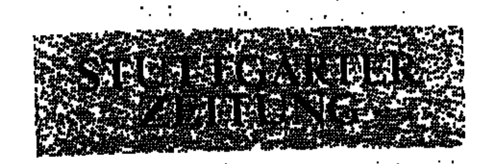
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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Fund-raising probe against Chancellor abandoned



Investigations by the public prosecutor against Chancellor Kohl in connection with party-political fund-raising have been dropped.

When the Chancellor heard the news he was said to have been unperturbed — his favourite term in times of crisis. He had not been expecting any other outcome.

The Chancellor feels, it is reported, that he has been unfairly attacked over the issue both by some of the media and by Otto Schily, the former Green MP and lawyer whom critics have termed a "heel-snapper."

His confidence was shared by his *chief of* staff, Minister of State Schäuble *of the Chancellor's* Office, a first-rate lawyer who forecast from the moment Herr Schily filed his suit at the end of January that proceedings would be dropped.

CDU leaders may often have talked in terms of the law being manipulated but they basically trusted in legal processes to vindicate the Chancellor.

Herr Kohl's friends have at times done him a disservice in their zeal to exonerate him.

CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler, for instance, said the Chancellor must have had a blackout at the court hearing in which his testimony was criticised.

Party-political opponents gleefully seized on this unfortunate term and have constantly reminded us of it.

Government officials and CDU leaders are relieved the investigations have been dropped, but there are limits to this sense of relief.

Too much damage has been done in recent months and rumours always stick no matter how strenuously they are denied.

Besides, Chernobyl and clashes at the site of the proposed nuclear fuel reprocessing plant in Wackersdorf, Bavaria, have been given greater publicity than the dropping of proceedings against the Chancellor.

Even optimists at CDU head office are not sanguine enough to believe this will be enough to remedy the damage done to the Chancellor's reputation and to public confidence in him.

Herr Schily's suit was extremely effective. Sixty to 70 per cent of people polled when it was filed said it hurt the Chancellor.

Even if these figures no longer apply, enough doubters remain, as one CDU official tartly puts it, and the soil will nurture further suspicions.

Besides, investigations have yet to be dropped by the Bonn public prosecutor even though Herr Geissler confidently forecast weeks ago that this was imminent.

He later toned down what he had said, explaining that it had only been a personal forecast, but there is reason to assume he was in the know.

Since the end of April there have been grounds for assuming that the Bonn public prosecutor had completed investigations and concluded there was no case for the Chancellor to answer.

There have even been rumours the Bonn and Koblenz public prosecutors were to announce simultaneously that investigations were to be dropped. But officials at the Bonn public prosecutor's office now say the proceedings are not yet over.

This is both true and false. The Bonn public prosecutor seems to have completed investigations but the director of public prosecutions in Cologne is apparently not yet satisfied.

It remains to be seen whether Cologne is dissatisfied with the facts of the case or with the wording of the conclusion reached. But there are certainly signs of a clash similar to the one over whether a probe should be made in the first place.

Between the end of January and 11 March, when the Bundestag President was notified of the public prosecutor's intention of investigating the Chancellor, there was a tussle between Bonn and Cologne, where chief public prosecutor Bereslaw Schmitz overrode opposition in Bonn and insisted on an investigation (to which North Rhine-Westphalia's SPD Justice Minister Rolf Krumsiek had no objection).

This clash was most unusual. Herr Schmitz did not wait until Bonn had taken stock of Herr Schily's charges, which would have been the normal procedure. He began parallel preliminary investigations of his own.

He was unable to sidetrack the official investigation and is hardly in a position to overrule its findings, especially as the Bonn public prosecutor's office has said it would refuse to file charges.

But Bonn government officials are still most annoyed at how Cologne has handled the issue. They feel a decision has been delayed on political grounds — to embarrass the Chancellor and the CDU.

A senior government official has wondered, off the record, why the public prosecutor took so long to probe similar accusations levelled at SPD leader Willy Brandt and whether the authorities would take so long to arrive at a conclusion in his case.

Government officials have no doubt whatever that political motives are involved. Legally the position seems perfectly clear. In connection with investigations of the Chancellor two Bonn courts have refused to issue warrants to search CDU premises.

The courts' summaries leave little doubt as to the legal position. "There are absolutely no grounds for assuming that the accused (Chancellor Kohl) told the Bundestag commission of enquiry an untruth."

In another context the Chancellor is referred to as having been unfairly accused and the court had no hesitation in finding there was no good reason for issuing a search warrant.

So the Bonn public prosecutor seems to have recalled Paragraph 344 of the Criminal Code and expressed fears that further investigations would make it guilty of prosecuting an innocent party.

Eduard Neumaier

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 22 May 1986)

SPD moves to phase out nuclear power

Social Democrats plan to step up efforts to phase out atomic energy in the Federal Republic in the wake of the Soviet reactor catastrophe.

Prime Ministers of SPD-governed Länder have agreed in Hanover to table amendments to the Atomic Energy Act if the Social Democrats under Gerhard Schröder win the mid-June state assembly elections in Lower Saxony.

An SPD government in Lower Saxony will give the Social Democrats, in Opposition in Bonn, a majority in the Bundesrat, or Upper House of the Bundestag.

Proposed amendments will be designed to rule out the development of plutonium as a reactor fuel.

The fast breeder reactor at Kalkar is not to be taken into service and construction of the nuclear fuel reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf is to be brought to a halt.

SPD Premiers also favour "final storage" of spent fuel rods (in sealed drums underground) rather than risky reprocessing.

Atomic energy is no longer to benefit from government subsidies and legal and financial privileges nuclear power enjoys by virtue of the Atomic Energy Act are to be abolished.

North Rhine-Westphalian Premier Johannes Rau, the SPD Shadow Chancellor, said after the meeting that it had been a first specific step in the direction of a future without atomic energy.

He said Social Democrats were also in favour of making radiation protection regulations more stringent. The proportion of electric power generated by nuclear reactors must on no account increase.

Atomic energy must be reduced and nuclear power stations must be subjected to fresh and stringent safety checks and shut down if need be.

Baden-Württemberg's Social Democrats have presented in Stuttgart a plan to gradually shut down all nuclear power stations in the *Land* by the end of the century. Obrigheim is to be shut down in 1989, Philippsburg I and Neckarwestheim in 1995 and Philippsburg II in 2000.

The power shortfall can, they say, be offset by the coal-fired power stations in Altbach and Heilbronn (with filters to reduce sulphur and nitric oxide emission) and by three new coal-fired power stations in South Baden.

Greater use must also be made of hydroelectric power stations.

"Shutting nuclear power stations down immediately is out of the question because a large number of high-pollution power stations would need to be run flat out," says Ulrich Maurer, SPD environmental spokesman in the Baden-Württemberg state assembly. "Environmental pollution would increase enormously."

Outlining details of the SPD's graduated phase-out plan, he admitted that the plan had not yet been exactly costed. The SPD planned to commission surveys on the cost.

He said it could well amount to roughly DM10bn over 10 to 15 years.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 21 May 1986)

After Chernobyl — the ifs and buts of energy

While the Bonn government rejects outright any idea of phasing out nuclear power and proposes an international agreement on atomic energy safety precautions instead, the Greens and many Social Democrats feel an immediate start to a nuclear phase-out is possible.

Experts such as nuclear physicist Klaus Traube, whose views are quoted by the Opposition, say first steps toward a phase-out are technically and economically feasible and can be taken by the end of the year.

Other politicians, such as North Rhine-Westphalian Opposition leader Kurt Biedenkopf, CDU, warn against adopting too dogmatic a viewpoint on atomic energy.

The problem as they see it is neither one of an immediate phase-out nor of developing alternatives but of an urgent need to restore public confidence.

A majority of politicians in Bonn are agreed that conclusions to be drawn from Chernobyl will need to be drawn in two phases.

In the second phase consideration will doubtless need to be given, in the long term, to phasing out nuclear power, which is viewed as no more than a transitional arrangement.

In the first phase, starting now, greater consideration will need to be given to alternatives. Pride of place must, Professor Biedenkopf feels, be given to energy-saving.

Christian Democrats plan to commit the SPD to energy-saving too. Yet energy specialists in the Bonn coalition agree with trade unionists such as Hermann Rappe, SPD MP and general secretary of IG Chemie, the chemical workers union, that atomic energy cannot yet be dispensed with entirely.

Surveys commissioned by the Economic Affairs Ministry underline this point. If nuclear power stations were shut down immediately, power supplied could no longer be definitely assured.

Electric power corporations would need to mobilise all their reserves, leaving no capacity to fall back on in the event of additional demand in a booming economy.

Experts also doubt whether the grid would be able to relay sufficient power to parts of the country that already rely heavily on atomic energy, which is said to account for over 60 per cent of output in some *Länder*.

Fuel costs would definitely be much higher: between DM4bn and DM6bn a year, the experts say.

At present atomic energy accounts for roughly 36 per cent of electric power in the Federal Republic of Germany and about 10 per cent of primary energy consumption.

Economic Affairs Ministry surveys note the internationally undisputed high safety levels maintained at German nuclear facilities.

Serious accidents on a par with what happened at Chernobyl cannot be ruled out absolutely but they are said to be out of the question to all intents and purposes.

What happened in Chernobyl could not recur in the Federal Republic. Safety precautions ruled out an exact repetition, especially as a Chernobyl-type reactor does not exist in Germany. But

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Chernobyl gives Greens' 'fundi' wing a boost

Chernobyl and its fallout have given the Greens a big boost. At their conference in Hanover, it was clear they now think their chances have improved for state assembly elections in Lower Saxony (this month) and Bavaria and the general election next January.

The Greens have always more or less stood for abandoning atomic energy, pulling out of Nato and calling a halt to capitalist, industrialised society.

Since Chernobyl such ideas have been more firmly rooted and less controversial than ever. Uncompromising advocates of these policies are riding the crest of a wave within the party.

They naturally tend to come from the party's fundamentalist wing, which has always been adept at outlining appalling nuclear holocaust scenarios and horror visions of the decline and fall of industrial society.

Since Chernobyl they have adopted a part-missionary, part-"I told you so" attitude and sought to impose their views on the party as a whole.

It would, of course, have been surprising if events had taken a different post-Chernobyl turn among the Greens. The "dropout mentality" is the basic outlook from which the Greens gradually emerged as a political party.

When a Soviet reactor accident and its repercussions so dramatically show *the world the dark side of scientific and* technological progress, those who have nailed their political colours to a rejectionist mast are bound to feel they were right in doing so.

As a political programme this outlook naturally has utopian traits. They were a feature of much of the debate at the Hanover conference. The more drastic the turn of phrase, the greater the applause.

Hesse Environment Minister Joschka Fischer, a leading advocate of *Realpolitik* and a pragmatic approach by the Greens, was bound to have a much harder time of it than fundamentalists such as Rainer Trampert, Jutta Ditfurth and Christian Schmid with their radical Opposition turns of phrase.

Yet it would be wrong to see them and their viwews as the whole truth about the ecological party. An increasingly clear distinction must be drawn between internal and external effect.

To ignore it might well be to arrive at an inexcusable misjudgement of the Greens in the domestic political context.

To base one's verdict on the Greens solely on policy documents has long ceased to be enough.

Delegates may have prided themselves on their ideological purity, but protestations of this kind serve partly to make the process of adjustment to reality the Greens are now undergoing at many levels less painful.

The Hanover conference was a case in point, with a majority rejecting as too weak the resolution on Chernobyl tabled by the pragmatic wing of the party.

Yet when it came to urging the Greens in Hesse to quit their coalition with the Social Democrats in Wiesbaden unless SPD Premier Holger Börner agreed to shut down all nuclear facilities in Hesse immediately, a majority refused to toe this line too.

Instead, Joschka Fischer was given greater leeway for negotiating with the SPD. Besides, Hesse Greens are entitled to decide for themselves whether or not to stay in coalition harness with the Social Democrats.

By the same token the Greens in Lower Saxony are at liberty to decide whether or not to throw in their lot with Hanover SPD leader Gerhard Schröder after the mid-June state assembly elections there.

The Greens run their affairs decentrally, with the emphasis on grass-roots control. Unlike established political parties, the Greens are not organised or of a mind to take orders from above.

The party cannot, of course, live forever with different coalition tactics in *Hesse, Lower Saxony and, perhaps, in* Bonn. These differences are basically due to the old clash between pragmatists and fundamentalists.

Sooner or later a decision will need to be taken on where the Greens stand, otherwise the party's position will become so unclear as to be meaningless.

Yet they have definitely made significant progress toward a coherent position. The Greens are steadily coming into their own as a political party, and that may well have been why the fundamentalists were so vociferous at Hanover.

One indication that not everything went their way was that Green MPs and state assemblymen are now to rotate at the end of their term in office and no longer in mid-term.

Another was the remarkable discipline delegates showed in working out their comprehensive election campaign programme. The two wings are no longer totally at loggerheads. Maybe they have learnt from parliamentary experience.

The Greens have finally provided a left-wing addition to the German party-*political spectrum. The process of fermentation is still under way and set*backs are almost a matter of course, but the direction is clear.

It is currently best indicated by the fact that the Greens are on uneasier terms with the Social Democrats than with any other party.

Given the stand taken by SPD Shadow Chancellor Johannes Rau, who says he will have no truck whatever with the Greens as a coalition partner, that is perhaps unsurprising.

There is no mistaking the Greens' desire to gain power in joint harness with the Social Democrats. "If only the SPD would change its spots a little!" Greens covertly sigh.

SPD leader Willy Brandt referred several years ago to a new left-of-centre majority consisting of the Social Democrats and the peace movement.

He may no longer hold this view but the idea is no longer strictly wishful thinking, certainly not in the long term, even though the SPD may not be prepared to play ball at present.

Heinz Verfürth

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 20 May 1986)

Free Democrats confident of storming back in State poll

The Free Democrats believe they will poll more than the crucial five per cent of the votes in the election this month in Lower Saxony.

In the last election here, four years ago, they did not clear the five per cent hurdle and so have no sitting MPs.

The party has done well in North Rhine-Westphalia, Berlin and the Saar and is confident the trend will continue.

Although opinion polls have for months been saying that it would not do well in Lower Saxony, the mood at the party conference in Hanover was buoyant.

The party leader, Martin Bangemann, was spontaneously re-elected. So were the other office holders.

Bangemann sees his party's prospects of success as depending on an unswerving commitment to the Bonn coalition line-up (with the Christian Democrats) and opposition to the challenge presented by the combination of Social Democrats and Greens.

The FDP commitment to coalitions with Christian Democrats only for the foreseeable future — as the only way of ensuring Liberal policies — is aimed at more than Hanover and Bonn.

It extends to Mainz and the Rhineland-Palatinate, where the Free Democrats hope to make a state assembly comeback next year.

The FDP fighting spirit in evidence at Hanover cannot hide the fact that the Free Democrats are really whistling *in the dark to boost sagging spirits.*

Post-Chernobyl sentiment in the country at large, of which fear and uncertainty are the hallmarks, has hit the FDP particularly hard.

Since 1983 the Free Democrats have nailed technological progress to their mast.

To forestall emotional misinterpretation of FDP policy Herr Bangemann told the conference Free Democrats were open-minded about all technologies that might one day replace atomic energy, which was basically dangerous.

Free Democrats were not pro-nuclear fanatics but felt bound to warn against false prophets, mainly from the ranks of the Greens, who behaved as though an immediate nuclear phase-out was merely a matter of taking the plunge.

Herr Bangemann could have sounded more convincing if he had responded positively to the call by head of state Richard von Weizsäcker for time "to stop and think" about nuclear policy.

Allgemeine Zeitung

Even so, the FDP national executive tabled a motion proposing a review of whether or not to take into service the fast breeder reactor in Kalkar.

So the Greens or Social Democrats are by no means alone in critically reappraising plans to expand nuclear power station capacity.

The conservative coalition in Holland was re-elected with an unexpectedly large majority.

This is probably to some extent because of the decision by Dutch Premier Ruud Lubbers to shelve for the time being plans for further nuclear expansion.

In Lower Saxony the Greens seem likeliest to benefit from post-Chernobyl feeling.

The fate of the CDU *government* led by Premier Ernst Albrecht will depend to a crucial extent on whether all established parties lose voters to Greens or voters mainly switch allegiance from the SPD to the Greens.

The unlikelier an absolute majority for the CDU appears, the more interest is shown in the FDP.

As only the Free Democrats would ensure a conservative majority in the state assembly, conservative votes are likely to be cast for the FDP as a safety measure.

More will be at stake than the survival of Herr Albrecht's government. If the SPD were to regain power in Lower Saxony the Bonn Opposition would have a majority in the Bundesrat, or Upper House of the Bundestag.

They could then not only delay Federal government legislation; they could also veto legislation in categories for which Bundesrat approval is constitutionally required.

Lower Saxony may not be a test run for next January's general election but voting could well influence decisions in Bonn.

The Free Democrats will count no matter who is returned to power in Hanover.

They offer a Liberal alternative guaranteed to prevent the risky *experiment* of an SPD-Green coalition.

But emotions are so highly-strung at present that there can be no guarantee calls for presence of mind will be heard, let alone heeded.

Hermann Dexheimer

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 24 May 1986)

Continued from page 3

the causes of the Chernobyl disaster would need to be carefully analysed and possible conclusions in respect of nuclear facilities in the Federal Republic considered.

Environmental misgivings and supply considerations are increasingly marshalled as arguments against phasing out atomic energy.

The Economic Affairs Ministry says it would take roughly 40 million tonnes of coal to generate enough electric power to replace the atomic energy generated last year.

Taking existing coal-fired power stations as the yardstick, that would increase atmospheric pollution by the static emission of an extra 800,000 tonnes of sulphur dioxide, 500,000 tonnes of nitric oxides and 100,000 tonnes of dust.

Even if all coal-fired power stations were fitted out with gas and particle filters, extra static emission would still amount to at least 20 per cent of the above figures.

Besides, the country would be increasingly dependent on imported fuel, making supplies less safe. With atomic energy, supplies are no problem. Nuclear fuel can be safely stored and a five-year supply has been stockpiled.

Last but not least, nuclear power stations already built or under construction in the Federal Republic represent a capital investment of between DM100bn and DM150bn.

Owners and operators could claim the amount in compensation from the state, compensation being ruled out only when plant fails to comply with safety requirements. Ministry experts are sceptical about greater use of renewable energy sources. Their potential is estimated to amount to no more than a few per cent of demand.

Hydroelectric power potential has been largely exhausted, while solar and wind power cannot, given meteorological conditions in the Federal Republic, be expected to play more than a minor role.

Peter J. Velte

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 18 May 1986)

■ LIFE WITH THE FALLOUT

Soviet Union denies Chernobyl liability and rejects claim for compensation

The Bonn government is claiming damages from Moscow for financial losses caused by fallout from the Chernobyl nuclear reactor. The Soviet Union has angrily rejected the claim. Is the Soviet Union in the right under International law? If not, should it pay compensation? More important, can compensation be wrung from the Russians? Here, Professor Rüdiger Wolfrum, head of Kiel University department of international law, looks at the issue.

Farmers, market gardeners and travel agents are among those who have been hit by fallout from Chernobyl and who would claim damages if they could.

In principle, there is an international legal basis for claims of this kind. It is recognised under international law, including principles of law acknowledged by the Soviet Union. Rulings of the *International Court of Justice* state that a country which is to blame for a breach of international law is liable to compensate the injured party, or state.

This means that the offender must eliminate as far as possible every consequence of the offence, failing which damages may be claimed. Compensation must offset in full the damage suffered, including profits forfeited.

So the crucial issue is whether the Soviet Union has, in connection with the Chernobyl reactor accident and the resulting radioactive fallout in the atmosphere and the soil of the Federal Republic of Germany, has been guilty of a breach of international law.

The answer must be "yes" to both generally accepted principles of international law and the law of contract as applied in relations between the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union.

The basic principles are outlined in Principle 21 of the 1972 UN environment conference in Stockholm.

It specifies that all states are entitled to use their resources in keeping with national environment policies (and in exercise of their sovereign rights).

But they must also ensure that activities under their control do no harm to the environment in other states (thereby respecting territorial integrity).

This principle was embodied in the 1941 arbitration ruling in the trail smelter dispute between the United States and Canada.

The issue at stake was damage caused by smoke from a Canadian zinc and lead foundry in the neighbouring US state of Washington.

The crucial sentence reads: "By the principles of international law no state has the right to use its territory in any way or to permit its use in such a way as to allow damage to be caused by smoke in or to the territory of another state or the property of people resident there, always assuming the case has serious repercussions and the damage is clearly identifiable."

This principle now forms an undisputed part of customary international law. With reference to it a Dutch court ordered a French potash mining company to pay damages for salination of the Rhine.

The Soviet Union is also guilty of an offence against the transnational atmospheric pollution agreement to which both it and the Federal Republic are parties.

This agreement stipulates that the best possible means must be employed to contain and prevent transnational atmospheric pollution.

Atmospheric pollution is defined as the direct or indirect release of matter or energy into the atmosphere resulting in detrimental effects on and a hazard to health, damage to living resources, riches and eco-systems and an impairment of environmental conveniences or other legal uses of the environment.

This enlarges on the principles laid down in the trail smelter case, which again is in keeping with trends in customary international law.

The International Lawyers Association, an organisation in which Soviet experts play a leading role, has drawn up a treaty draft on transnational environmental pollution.

It requires states to take precautions to prevent such pollution and does not insist on conclusive proof of the damage suffered.

International law also acknowledges the impairment of conveniences as constituting pollution of the environment.

In fresh cases of pollution (as opposed to existing practice) the degree of pollution must be limited to the lowest level that can be achieved by means of practicable and reasonable measures.

This is virtually a reference to the level of scientific and technological development at any given time, which under German law is the principle governing safety precautions required for nuclear power stations.

The Soviet Union cannot so clearly be found in breach of international law in respect of atomic energy, certainly not in



connection with what may have been inadequate safety precautions in the Chernobyl reactor's construction and design.

Although both are entitled to do so, neither the International Atomic Energy Authority nor the World Health Organisation has yet succeeded in drawing up binding safety regulations for the operation of nuclear power stations.

General customary international law does, however, make an appropriate provision. In practice generally acknowledged and applied standards have emerged, especially for operational safety, that are binding on the Soviet Union as minimum standards.

Damages claims against the Soviet Union would need to prove these standards were not maintained at Chernobyl.

This proof is hard to come by but, in the final analysis, unnecessary inasmuch as compensation can be claimed on the basis of both environmental provisions by which the Federal Republic and the Soviet Union are bound and customary international law.

But these claims cannot be legally enforced, states being most reluctant in practice to accept binding rulings by international courts.

Neither the Soviet Union nor the Federal Republic of Germany has agreed to be bound by rulings of the International Court of Justice.

This may not rule out the possibility of an ad hoc agreement by both sides to submit the case to the International Court of Justice for arbitration, but the likelihood of agreement on this basis is slender.

Even so, international law still has means and processes enabling the Federal Republic to enforce its claims.

First and foremost are bilateral negotiations the Soviet Union cannot simply refuse to hold, especially as it cannot deny in principle the liability under international law on which claims are based.

The Soviet Union acknowledged a claim by Canada in respect of damage caused by a Soviet satellite that crashed on Canadian territory, paying $15m in damages.

The Canadian claim was in respect of tracking down radioactive parts of the satellite's wreckage, disposing of them and paying compensation to people who suffered radiation damage.

Negotiations are a suitable means of settling the dispute. As international law requires less specific proof of damage than, say, national civil law, assessing damages awards is basically subject to negotiation.

Negotiation is also the only way in which agreement can be reached on long-term radiation damage, for which there is no international legal precedent.

The Soviet Union cannot simply claim that radiation levels were well below the danger threshold, although latest reports indicate that this will evidently be the main Soviet argument.

Both international law of contract and customary international law rule out any new and unaccustomed pollution of either the atmosphere or the soil.

If the Soviet Union were to refuse to negotiate or to persist in its denials that damage had been done the Federal Republic of Germany could in theory resort to international legal compulsion.

It could choose between retortion, or a counter-measure by one state in response to an iniquitous measure by another, and straightforward retaliation.

Resort to such measures will naturally be subject to considerations of political expediency.

Damages suits filed by private individuals against the Soviet Union in German courts seem unlikely to have the desired result.

In other cases German courts have made awards in respect of damage to pasture, grain and beet crops, by dust pollution and to plants by soil pollution.

But in this case the individual farmer would have to specify the damage and prove the responsibility or even guilt of the Soviet authorities.

That makes the legal position of the private individual much weaker than that of the Federal Republic. International law definitely provides for damages claims.

Yet Chernobyl has demonstrated the urgent need for international law on atomic energy to be extended to cover safety regulations, liability and information requirements in greater detail.

This is a case for the International Atomic Energy Authority to get down to work.

Rüdiger Wolfrum

(Kieler Nachrichten, 17 May 1986)

■ FINANCE

Tough new law targeted at economic crime

A tough new law designed to hit economic crime is to take effect in August.

It means that anyone responsible for handing out misleading information about investments or withhold important data could be jailed for up to three years.

The capital investment market has a touch of the jitters. Valentine Jäger, director of an umbrella group involved with investment interests, says that from August, many people will have to reckon with the risk of going to jail.

Investors of all sorts, ranging from those involved in *Bauherrnmodellen*, (writing off investment in construction against tax) to US real estate and shipping, and other highly speculative tax havens, are on edge.

According to Schimmelpfeng, an economics information agency, investors turnover has already contracted from DM20bn to DM5bn in any case. The new legislation would make the climate even worse.

From now on tenderers who hand out literature on investment securities or stock rights with misleading information, or false particulars, or withhold data which could conceal the possible result of an investment, will face fines or imprisonment of up to three years.

The law considers it irrelevant whether *an investor has been wronged or not*. The legislation construes the mere abstract danger of an offence as sufficient.

In future, incorrect solicitations or sales-promotions will be enough to land one in court.

The special information service "Kapitalmarkt intern" quoted a lawyer on the subject. He said the new paragraph's power was quite explosive.

The branch newspaper estimated that more than 95 per cent of current market subscription-prospectuses will not bear scrutiny by the new law.

The time would appear to have come for the fall of the branch's last taboo, namely the correct mathematical presentation of financial yields.

The German government bore past experience in mind when they brought the law before parliament. The "free" capital market is in Germany so free, that there is no shortage of scope for shady dealings.

Even people who have been decreed on psychological grounds incapable of being made responsible for their actions, can sell building prospectuses or pennystocks.

Therefore the free market is difficult to differentiate from the shady half-illegal one. The restructuring of investing and the increasing specialisation of the forms of investment, which have accompanied increasing income, call for at least in the sphere of decision making, protection for inexperienced investors.

Up till now safeguards have not been effective enough. Many of the new forms of investment in the capital market have not been accompanied by appropriate regulations.

This has been illustrated by the numerous collapses of such enterprises in recent years.

Rückforth, Treuwo, Kerkerbachbahn, Kapital & Wert are just a few examples of firms which were considered respectable until they suddenly went bust because of corrupt practices.

A spokesman for Schimmelpfeng said: "Since Bernie Cornfeld's collapse, which after a furious start gathered DM4bn and then quickly went bust, one bankruptcy has followed another."

The methods for hooking well-funded victims have become more refined since then.

People are enticed by low content colourful "Mickey Mouse" prospectuses, as they are known in the trade. These brochures, which would be more suitable as holiday hand-outs than as serious investment literature, are full of buzz-words promising dream profits.

They take care not to reveal what they based their calculations on, or cover themselves by using false postulations.

Admittedly the serious tenderer is not going to be served much by the new law. Along with many lawyers they claim that the law is sloppily formulated. They raise the question of how one is to present exact calculations for risky undertakings such as shipping. They point out the sudden fall of the dollar and oil prices were predicted by few of the "gurus".

Valentin Jäger said: "When things go wrong it is popular to blame the tenderers." But investors in oil exploration, he added, "know that one can either win or lose a lot."

Speculators are unlikely to be deterred from business risks by the warning-signals of detailed prospectuses.

Wolfgang Spannagel, former director of Schimmelpfeng, said: "Gamblers who ignore reason and who often play with black money are being found in greater numbers among potential investors in the free market."

Tax write-off artists and financial jugglers who — often following the modified, *snow ball system — have developed their* concept of investment to perfection, will not be affected much by the new law. The reason for this is that the law merely punishes misrepresented sales-promotion to a larger group.

This does not at all hinder clever sales-

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

men from using psychology in private conversations to trick investors into falling for incredible promises.

It remains to be seen how prosecuters and the courts will come to terms with the new legislation.

Already in the relevant courts mountains of major offences have piled up. So many in fact that in order to save time, they have had to temporarily shove minor cases to the side.

It's precisely because of examples like these that lawyers like Heinz Hupfer from Frankfurt have a low opinion of the law. They believe people would be better served if the available legislation were only applied more effecively.

Hupfer says "the whole rigmarole is nothing more than job-creation for lawyers and accounts."

There will be plenty of work examining the prospectuses of clients to check their legal and mathematical incontestability, and also to look out for weaknesses in the cases of their opponents.

Hupfer calls instead for a branch supervisory department, like the long standing one in the USA. Something he says: "has to be done. Prosecuters are being over-taxed by their role as sales-promotion overseers of the shady capital market."

Theo Mönch-Tegeder

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 17 May 1986)

Private companies required to reveal more information

New regulations require companies to reveal much more about their financial dealings. Most of the companies affected are the 300,000 with the GmbH label — *Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung*, roughly the equivalent of private limited companies. In this article for *Die Zeit*, Bernhard Blohm reports on the reaction to the legislation.

Meetings organised by the Düsseldorf Chamber of Commerce throughout North Rhine-Westphalia to explain the implications of the law for balance sheet customs and practice, which was introduced on 1 January, were packed out with businessmen.

Rüdiger Liebs represented the chamber. He was surprised to discover that the audiences, mainly small and medium-sized entrepreneurs, reacted with disbelief to what they were told about the new laws. Sometimes the disbelief turned into aggression.

Why? The answer lies in the nature of the new balance sheet law, which was announced punctually on 24 December in the Official Legal Bulletin and came into effect on 1 January.

The people most affected are some 300,000 small and medium-sized entrepreneurs who operate under the Gmbh sign, which indicates their limited liability.

In stilted legal language, they are now bound to a broader improved publicity.

Udo Schmidt, a solo entrepreneur from Krefeld puts it more drastically. We are he said, "now supposed to drop our trousers."

The law has carefully specified those who it affects and how far the trousers will have to fall. The key sentence reads: "The bigger the firm, the greater the scrutiny."

However even the smallest of firms come under the publicity regulations. They will also have to publish their balance sheets. They are now obliged to show how profits were used and in a supplement show additional information about participant holdings and liabilities.

Already medium-sized companies have been hit by harder profit and loss account regulations. They are now being forced to give explicit information about such explosive subjects as earnings of the company director.

Should the company have more than one director then an aggregrate of salaries drawn is required.

Düsseldorf lawyer Liebs put it so: "If one takes into account everything that a medium-sized company must now publish, you are left with a goldmine of information for analysts and outside competition."

Udo Schmidt sees the situation very much in the same light. His firm manufactures conveyor belts which transport suitcases in airports and bread rolls in bakeries.

He had a turnover last year of DM15m and employs some 50 workers. His limited liability company is now classified by the new law as being medium-sized.

This law, he said angrily, "is pseudo-liberal economic exhibitionism."

He does not appreciate at all the fact that his assistants will be able to read in black and white how much he annually earns.

It annoys him much more however that his competitors should in future be able to avail of figures showing the output and yield of the firm.

"Our greatest domestic competitor is an unincorporated firm in Hanover. They do not have to publish a financial statement or details about the nature of their business." he said. They will, he added: "fall about laughing when they get to read our figures."

Entrepreneurs find themselves in a similar situation in relation to Swedish, Japanese and other foreign competition. Foreign firms can also take advantage of the law and look at calculations and investment plans of people like Schmidt without themselves having to give away anything.

Even though Schmidt considers the new law to be absurd, he does concede that because his firm is tied to an international concern and also has an established source of customers, it is unlikely to be affected that much.

Liebs thinks that other firms may not be so lucky. He believes that many are in for hard times. He *feels that the many* small firms in the car branch are too dependent on large customers and are going to take a knocking.

"If customers can read the financial situation of a company they can go for a better deal at the next round of bargaining," he said.

If the small firms profits are high then the customer will try to buy at a lower price. If they are low then they can keep an eye out for another manufacturer just to keep on the safe side.

In both cases the smaller firm loses out.

Liebs expects to see an increase in the sale of firms as a direct result of the side effects of the new open-book regulation.

Many large customers will be astonished to see what entrepreneurial pearls are supplying them. What could be more tempting than to simply buy them out.

Large purchasing concerns have many possibilities to cause economic difficulties for suppliers. They can cancell contracts or make complaints and in doing so make it easier to make a take over bid.

So it is not surprising that many firms are seeking loopholes to get around the legislation or at least to lessen its effects.

Many firms see a way out in the way they present information about their financial affairs. In future instead of publishing a joint tax and trading balance sheet they could divide them up into separate ones, publishing only the trading one.

In this way the companies can, as the Commerzbank so puts it: "Use the balance sheet as an instrument in calculated information politics, and take advantage of the scope offered within the framework of the regulations."

In other words publication should serve more to conceal than to reveal. Something which Schmidt indignantly describes as defeating the original purpose of the legislation.

Firms which feel they need another way out can take advantage of another possibility. They can if needed, avail of the possibility of becoming an unincorporated company.

Liebs confirms that many firms have enquired about this course of action believing the outlay of DM20 to DM30,000 to be the lesser of two evils.

Bernhard Blohm

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 16 May 1986)

■ EXPO '86

Optical illusions amid bomb-scarred ruins



The centenary of motoring, which is this year, would have been an obvious theme for the German pavilion at Expo '86 in Vancouver, British Columbia.

Germany, after all, is the country of motoring pioneers Daimler and Benz.

But the organisers decided against it. The centrepiece of the German pavilion is a model of Anhalter Bahnhof, the railway station in Berlin where all tracks led in pre-war Germany. The bomb-damaged front wall is all that remains.

Winfried Wachendorfer, head of the German pavilion, has been in charge of foreign trade fairs and exhibitions at the Economic Affairs Ministry in Bonn for over 20 years.

He says the motor car was not used as the theme because it "is only part of the overall motto: World in Motion — World in Touch."

The Ministry has invested DM8m of the total cost of about DM50m.

The 30 German exhibitors are naturally footing much of the bill, including half the cost of shipping goods the 12,000km or so to the Canadian Pacific coastline, Wachendorfer says.

The German pavilion was commissioned by the Economic Affairs Ministry in collaboration with Auma, the exhibitions and trade fairs unit of the Confederation of German Industry, and the International Service Centre (ISC) of the Cologne Trade Fairs Authority.

The commission was a magnificent opportunity for the ISC, says Professor Jürgen W. Niepage, its chief executive.

The ISC is a subsidiary of the Cologne Trade Fairs Authority set up in 1981. It can now claim to have made it to the top as an organiser of German pavilions at 34 leading foreign exhibitions and trade fairs, with the emphasis on America and the Far East.

But a world fair is a special highlight, as Dieter Ebert of the Cologne authority put it in Vancouver.

Last year ISC turnover was roughly DM20m. Expo '86 is expected to give business a further boost.

The centrepiece of the 1,250-square-metre German pavilion clearly exemplifies land-based mobility.

It is a model of the late 19th-century Anhalter station in Berlin designed by Essen architect Werner Zabel, assisted by Jörg Helssen of Vancouver.

The fine old station building, only the ruined, shell-scarred frontage of which survived the Second World War, will tug at the heartstrings of many German-Canadians.

Out of the station a model of the Transrapid hovertrain 15 metres long and weighing 25 tonnes emerges, gliding round the perimeter of the pavilion.

Zabel uses a similar optical illusion at the entrance to the pavilion, where an omnibus comes straight out of the wall.

The pavilion is thus made to seem "open" and certainly appears larger than it really is. What cannot be seen in the original or in scale model is shown on screen.

Arranged by land, sea and air, oldtimers face the latest developments, giving the display a special attraction.

Leading exhibitors include Daimler-Benz, BMW, MBB, Thyssen, BBC, MAN and Dornier. Many small and medium-sized firms are also represented.

In keeping with Expo and Ministry regulations exhibitors are entitled neither to advertise individually nor to enter into sales negotiations.

Names modestly arranged alongside exhibits testify to manufacturers not even widely known in Germany, such as Neumann-Elektronik, *Roll-Fiets*, Meygra, Grob-Werke, Koch and Kempf.

Yet they are all textbook examples of the creative ingenuity of many small German firms. The Italians in contrast feature their companies' names in jumbo letters on a gold-coloured background.

In this and other respects the Germans are paragons of modesty, arguably too self-effacing. Good to middling is how Auma's Friedhelm N. Sartoris rates the quality of the German pavilion.

The Federal Republic has also made a point of not overselling Germany as a tourist destination. Many others among the 54 countries represented have had no qualms in this respect.

But the strikingly effective multimedia show in the German pavilion conveys an impressive picture of modern Germany ranging from tennis star Boris Becker to fairytale Neuschwanstein Castle in Bavaria.



The German pavilion with model of Transrapid hovertrain (Photo: ISC-Köln Messe)

No-one can accuse the Federal Republic of trying to hog the European limelight at False Creek. The Italians, French and British all blow more trumpet than the Germans.

A topic that particularly intrigues Canadian visitors to the German pavilion is transport for the disabled, which is seldom highlighted in the Federal Republic.

Crowds constantly mill round the *stand where the Kempfs, father and* daughter, demonstrate armless driving and direct a wheelchair by giving verbal instructions to a computer.

There is definitely something spellbinding about the idea of wheelchair responding to instructions such as "right" and "left." It is braked and brought to a halt by moving the head.

Peter Messerschmidt's Roll-Fiets is a combination of a comfortable wheelchair and a sporting pushbike that can be assembled and disassembled with one hand.

It is already used to take disabled visitors round the Expo grounds. Wheelchair buses from Berlin and Neoplan buses for the disabled are also on show.

This aspect of technology gives Expo '86 a human face. Let the great powers show off with their rockets. Even the German hovertrain forfeits much of its attraction when compared with travel aids for the disabled. Faster, higher and further — the Olympic ideals — are not in much demand at Vancouver. Slower, safer and more comfortable seems to be the message.

The Soviet reactor disaster has placed something of a damper on technology as a whole at the fair. Visitors are clearly less impressed than they used to be by technological superlatives.

They seem much keener on Rameses and Ancient Egypt than on Soviet and American space stations.

Expo '86 thus sounds an encouragingly different note to the overemphasis on technology at Tsukuba in 1985 or New Orleans in 1984 (neither of which were particularly successful in international terms).

Over 20 million visitors are expected in Vancouver, with nearly 14 million tickets already having been sold. So the DM2.5bn invested by Canada is likely to have been worthwhile.

There may be no revolutionary technological innovations on show but Expo '86 spares visitors the trouble of a world tour in its way.

Every pavilion has a distinctive note, and the German pavilion clearly stands for reliability and conscientiousness or, as the initiators stress, tradition and progress.

Karl Ohem

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 May 1986)

■ THE WELFARE STATE

Pensions-financing problem solved — for time being

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Employment Minister Norbert Blüm says that problems over pensions payments have been solved — for the time being.

The pension-insurance system has been altered so that there is no immediate danger of pension funds running out of cash.

But he warns of problems in the future because more and more people are retiring and fewer and fewer are paying into the system.

Herr Blüm says that after the election next year, the pensions system will be restructured.

The immediate problem has been solved by increasing contributions from both pensioners themselves and workers.

Workers contributions, which have been going up regularly in recent years, have again been increased and are now 19.2 per cent of gross income — employers actually pay half of this.

In addition, pensioners will have to pay more towards their medical insurance. Once they didn't have to pay at all. It came out of pension funds.

As a result of all this, the pension funds will be able to boost their reserves, which are small compared with *their annual pensions payout of 150 billion marks.*

He assured pensioners that they could be certain that the state would stand security for their living standards.

But employees, today making high contributions for pensions, are not sure they will receive comparable pensions in their old age.

The long-term problems of pensions insurance have been known for some time.

Unemployment insurance contributions cover only a limited amount necessary for the high unemployment figure. People are retiring earlier, the average age having dropped to 58.

Young people are longer in training, contributing towards an old-age pension later in life.

Since the end of the 1960s the birth rate has fallen dramatically. The results can no longer be ignored and are having a profound influence on the basic makeup of old-age insurance.

For every 100 people today between 20 and 60 there are 36 who are older than 60. By 2005 there will be 47 people over the age of 60 and by 2030 there will be 74. Fewer and fewer in work must contribute for more and more old people.

A rough calculation gives a clue to the situation. If pensioners' living standards are to remain as high in the year 2030 as they are now, without any alteration to pension entitlement, contributions must be doubled.

If contributions remain as they are now, the pensioners' living standards must be reduced by a half.

Experts estimate that by 1993 pensions insurance will again be faced with difficulties, even if economic conditions remain favourable.

Should the economy take a turn for the worse, difficulties can be expected by 1989.

Norbert Blüm wants to avoid wrangles about the solution of this difficult pension problem before the 1987 general election.

He could not and would not tackle the problem before then, because revising pensions for widows and widowers has called for all his political expertise.

The *well-meaning intention to spare* pensioners worry and to put off reconciling difficulties with many unknown factors to a more convenient time, has not worked out. Others have jumped in concerning themselves with reforms.

Norbert Blüm is not worried that the SPD has submitted an extensive revision of pension legislation. The opposition can make great play of their ideas and does not have to deal with lobbyists, who move heaven and earth against any threatened reduction to pensions entitlements.

Blüm first got into a tight spot when coalition government plans for pensions reform got out of hand.

The FDP wrestled with proposals, developed by the SPD. Berlin's social affairs senator, Ulf Fink, jumped into the act. But Blüm's main antagonist is the North Rhine-Westphalia CDU chairman Kurt Biedenkopf.

He maintained that a state-guaranteed compulsory insurance for all employees could not be financed in the long term.

*He said: "I don't believe that employ-*ees in the next century will be prepared to pay out between 30 and 40 per cent of their pay to provide pensions for the previous generation, who are already provided for by life insurance or personal assets."

Biedenkopf proposed a radical revision of pensions, away from the present arrangements.

The state should pay every citizen a similar basic pension financed from taxes. By saving people could provide the extra to maintain the living standards they wanted in their old age.

No revolution

Norbert Blüm, who is very conservative in this matter, rejected the proposals made by his party colleague Biedenkopf.

Curtly he informed him recently: "The government rejects revolutionary *proposals linked to turning pension in-*surance upside down."

For Blüm structural changes and further development of the present pensions scheme must be based on the tried and tested principles applied in the past.

He knows that most social scientists in the country concerned with pensions are on his side.

The chairman of the Social Advisory Council Helmut Meinhold said: "No matter how old-age pensions are dealt with, they must be financed from the national product and cannot be underpinned by economies likely to be made in the year 2030." He was speaking at a recent conference of the Actuarial Society.

Much would be demanded of any system because of the change in the proportion of pensionable people, no matter how the changes were introduced, for state pension schemes or private pensions. The most important argument made by the experts against a complete revision of the pension scheme, as far as the bureaucrats are concerned, is the problem of the transitional period from the old to the new system.

In this period employers must continue to contribute at least 20 per cent towards an old-age pension. In addition they would have to make arrangements for their own old-age pension.

The social affairs council pointed out in its report that people on low incomes, who could not contribute to a half of their old age pension because of their limited abilities to save, would be penalised excessively.

As if he did not have enough opponents Blüm's friends came at him obliquely. Obviously many coalition politicians are tired of pondering on unpopular economy measures before they have been properly taken in hand.

Encouraged by the SPD, sections of the CDU and FDP have presented new benefits aimed at helping citizens, threatened with old-age poverty, particularly widows. The new catch phrase is basic insurance for old age.

Senator Ulf Fink in West Berlin demands that old people, whose pensions are below the supplementary benefit level and who have no other source of income, should be paid compensation from pension funds to improve their miserable pension.

There would then be no need to go to the social welfare department and pensioners' sons and daughters would no longer be obliged to make refunds for social welfare assistance.

FDP parliamentary leader Wolfgang Mischnick has suggested that one should consider if a higher federal grant could not be used as a basic pension that could be topped up by a pension commensurate with contributions.

This considerate and justified revision hit Blüm in a weak spot, for the basic pension proposal violates the principle against which pensions are calculated; how many contributions has a person made and how high have they been during his or her working life.

If everyone gets the same basic pension, irrespective of contributions, people who have worked and contributed for 40 years will feel cheated.

If a basic pension is to be provided from taxes for those who only have a minimal pension, why should not other citizens receive the same?

Biedenkopf's deputy Meinhard Miegel said with some satisfaction: "This would set a movement in motion that would result in fundamental changes."

It is obvious that the basic pension could not be paid out of the present scanty contributions income. So the champions against old-age poverty plead for state financing.

But there is not enough cash in the kitty already to ensure future pensions under the present system. Because of this Blüm fights whole-heartedly against a basic pension. Whilst politicians argue about social welfare *benefits*, social scientists have got to work laying down the foundations for future structural reforms of the pension scheme.

The majority confirm the position held by the Employment Minister that the present pensions system can be brought into line with the altered proportion of the retired in our society by sensible reforms.

The Social Advisory Council said that there was no reason for panic, but at the same time it warned the Minister "to postpone interference that could be regarded by those involved as being negative in nature."

The basics for reform remain unshaken. The increase in pension will be adjusted in accordance with the employee's increased gross income. It will take into account increases in contributions or taxes. Presumably tax increases are unavoidable for higher pensions.

There must be a reduction in the number of years taken into account as training or unemployment to calculate pensions at a later date.

The pension level will probably drop. In any event employees would be well advised to take precautions for their own old age.

No matter what happens contributions will have to increase. The social welfare council estimates that contributions will increase to 19.6 per cent of gross income by 2001 and by ... to 21.2 per cent by 2005.

Social scientist Winfried Schmähl of Berlin believes that by the year 2030 contributions could increase to at ... 26 per cent.

Fundamental to this favourable prognosis is that the state increases its grant to pensions insurance considerably. At present it contributes only 17.8 per cent of total pension disbursements.

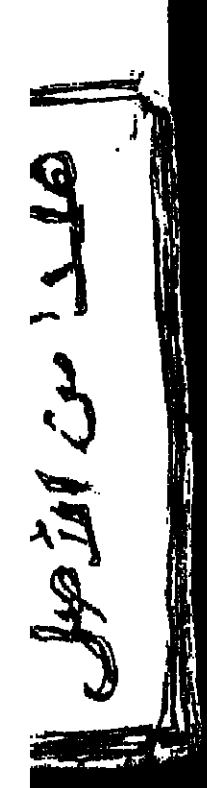
Experts believe that it is vital that this increased to at least 20 per cent, so that the pension burden cannot be placed solely on the backs of wage and salary earners who pay into the scheme.

The state can indemnify itself if it were to demand that government officials should pay a contribution towards their old-age pensions.

An increase in the federal grant ... would cost the Finance Minister a few more billions than have been included in the budget for the next few years, and

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Rise of social security costs — Breakdown of social security contributions as % of gross pay (excludes those on higher wages)	1950	1960	1970	1980	1986
Pensions	10%	14	17	18	19.2
Unemployment	4%	2	1.3	3	4
Illness	5.8%	7.7	8.2	11.4	12
Total	19.8%	23.7%	26.5%	32.4%	35.2%



■ POLAR RESEARCH

Uncovering the mysteries of the ice: broad-based German Antarctic probe

Frankfurter Allgemeine

West Germany has two research bases on the edge of the Antarctic: the Georg von Neumayer station, which is permanently manned, and the Filchner base camp, which is manned only in summer.

Biologists, oceanographers and marine geologists probe Antarctic waters on board the research vessel *Polarstern*, while Dornier expedition aircraft reconnoitre the terrain by air.

Aerial and satellite photographs and charts based on them are an important basis for planning a wide range of research activities in the Antarctic. They are also a research sector in their own right.

Staff of the photogrammetric research unit headed by Professor Schmidt-Falkenberg of Frankfurt University department of applied geodesy have spent the past three summers *surveying the Antarctic* from the ground and by air.

Their work varies in difficulty in accordance with the area to be surveyed. It is fairly easy to chart mountain ranges from the air, and this is information in which geologists and geophysicists are keenly interested.

The peaks are ice-free and testify to identifiable geological structures that will hopefully shed light on the former southern continent, Gondwanaland.

The mountain landscapes reveal more than enough structures that can be taken as points of reference for evaluation of aerial photographs.

It is another matter entirely on the ice shelf that covers about 40 per cent of the Antarctic coast — floating shelves of ice that are absolutely flat over long distances.

The Ross and Filchner ice shelves are the largest, and along the coastline the ice is at times over 1,000 metres thick, as against about 100 metres at the edge of the shelf.

Shelf ice is formed in the continental Antarctic, consists of packed snow and gradually moves toward the sea.

On the Filchner ice shelf it does so at a rate of up to 1,400 metres a year, and the signs are that ice fronts move without interruption for between 25 and 50 years.

Then, suddenly, a slab the size of Schleswig-Holstein breaks off. The table icebergs that result are a far cry from the bizarre glacial icebergs.

The Antarctic is the largest fresh water reservoir in the world. It contains 80 per cent of fresh water reserves and 90 per cent of fresh water ice.

The behaviour of the ice shelf shows what changes the mass of this enormous amount of ice undergoes.

Inferences may be drawn on climate trends, which are largely determined by conditions in the Antarctic.

Research inland would yield the same results but the shelf ice can be modelled more satisfactorily, making it more suitable for research.

Photos relayed by America's NOAA weather satellites are not detailed enough to be used for monitoring the shelf ice front. They only show details two kilometres in diameter.

Landsat satellite photos are unsuitable too. They don't overfly the area often enough, while the short Antarctic summer is not, as a rule, long enough to map out the entire 900km of Filchner ice shelf edge from a cloud-less sky.

Besides, fixed points are needed on the shifting shelf ice if satellite photos are to be converted into charts on a scale of 25,000:1 to 100,000:1, and on Landsat photos they would be too small to be identified.

From the air structures down to about 50cm in diameter can be identified, as aerial photographs taken for the Frankfurt applied geodesy department show.

There is no shortage of recognisable elevations of this size on which scientists can locate small devices with which to receive satellite signals.

Using Transit navigation satellites the position of these elevations can be located to within five metres.

The Navstar satellites' global positioning system can locate them to within one metre. Satellite receivers are shown on the photographs and serve as reference points for photogrammetric evaluation.

The Frankfurt scientists began their aerial survey of the Antarctic in the 1983/84 summer season. The first 50,000:1-scale charts of an area near the Georg von Neumayer station have now been completed.

They have already proved invaluable as a planning aid for meteorologists in connection with a project involving holes to be drilled in the Filchner ice shelf.

Samples from below 15 metres were found to contain sea salt, whereupon the scientists worked out where this part of the shelf must have been when ice at this depth was on the surface.

Bearing in mind the likeliest wind direction in those days, they discovered that ice at this level must have come straight from the Antarctic coast. It may have been brought there as foam.

Satellite photos have also proved useful in planning scientific projects, such as the 1985/86 summer season expedition from the Georg von Neumayer station to the Kottas mountains 400km inland.

The Frankfurt survey team used Landsat multi-spectral photos with a power of resolution of about 200 metres to make up a chart that enabled the expedition to skirt major obstacles.

The terrain they crossed was previously unknown: a great white desert. The chart proved worthwhile; no-one fell into a crevasse during the expedition.

The expedition had another guide in the form of a digitally processed, heightened-contrast chart based on photos taken by the thematic mapper on board Landsat with a power of resolution of about 80 metres.

This chart was prepared by the Frankfurt department of applied geodesy in conjunction with the DFVLR aerospace research establishment.

It provided such a detailed overview of the Kottas mountains that the expedition was able to dispense with any other map of the area.

Another target the Frankfurt survey team has set itself is to produce 1,000,000:1 charts of areas of the Antarctic of interest to German research scientists there using satellite photographs.

The first chart, based on several digitally interlinked satellite photos, is of New Swabian Land, a region that proved extremely difficult to chart because it has few recognisable structures.

The chart is the first of its kind in the world. Other charts based on satellite photos are put together in analog fashion. Digital techniques, which are much more precise, have never been used before.

Landsat photos of the entire Filchner ice shelf have been commissioned from the Americans. The shelf covers an area twice the size of the Federal Republic.

A major forthcoming Antarctic project is the attempt to link the geological surveys carried out from the Neumayer and Filchner base camps with the survey work conducted in Victoria Land since the late 1970s by the Geoscience Research Establishment, Hanover.

The transantarctic mountains cross both regions and no-one yet knows for sure whether the ranges are in fact interlinked, a point that would be of interest as a pointer to the origin of the continent.

Satellite photos alone are not enough to prove the point one way or the other because ice covers the rock formations at many points.

The German Hydrographical Institute, Hamburg, is also keen to study ice movements in the Weddell Sea. This is a task for which the European Earth reconnaissance satellite ERS 1 should be ideally suited.

It will take radar photos and not be dependent on cloud conditions, but as they cannot be stored on board the satellite a ground station in the Weddell Sea would be an essential part of the project.

Günter Paul
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 May 1986)

Continued from page 8

would make holes in his tax reform plans.

The Finance Minister, then, after the election, will be a considerable opponent of the Employment Minister, who could be Kurt Biedenkopf.

Norbert Blüm can always turn to one exceptional case, however; central government takes responsibility for 80 per cent of the pensions paid out to farmers.

How much would old-age pensions for millions of workers cost the state?

Wolfgang Mauersberg
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 10 May 1986)

■ THE ARTS

Dresden theatre visits, culture pact signed, but

The Dresden Staatstheater has been touring Düsseldorf, Hamburg and Cologne, thus returning a tour to Dresden and Leipzig by the Düsseldorf Schauspielhaus. Reinhard Kill of the *Rheinische Post*, Düsseldorf, reviews the tour in the context of the intra German cultural exchange agreement now finally signed after years of delay over the status of Berlin. He outlines the difficulties behind the agreement and what its significance might be. He writes that the problems are such that the pragmatism and initiative of people like Günther Beelitz, general manager of the Düsseldorf Schauspielhaus, will continue to be needed to breathe life into the exchange.

The six-day tour by the Dresden Staats-theatre company was not just an intensive artistic event the high standard of which came as a great surprise; it was also a reminder of the common heritage.

Standards were so high that even highly critical observers respectfully complimented the artistic ambassadors from the other German state.

The Dresden Staatstheater can be compared with the best West German companies. It is clearly a well-matched team with well-allocated roles and a keen concern for quality.

Its repertoire is as interesting as it is courageous. It testifies to a distinctive approach, with the emphasis not on theatre for theatre's sake.

The actors are first-rate, the women better than the men, and the case with which they could be heard all over the Düsseldorf auditorium, which is well known for areas where the sound fades, testified to the quality of dramatic training in East Germany.

This still owes allegiance to several authorities, and the acting bore the hallmarks of both Stanislavsky and Brecht.

Different directors ensured stylistic pluralism by virtue of their differences in age, temperament, formative experiences and models. General manager Horst Schönemann and Wolfgang Engel, a younger man, merit special mention.

Three Engel productions were shown, clearly indicating the tremendous talent of a director conversant with the aesthetic techniques of the aesthetic avant-garde in the West.

Yet Engel is definitely still in the process of discovering his own possibilities. He is still trying out everything he can do, and that alone is exciting enough.

The seven productions the Dresden company brought on tour with them cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be said to have been put together to please.

They cannot, for that matter, be dismissed as agitprop or a demonstration of vain self-presentation.

There was no propaganda fanfare. German history was the common denominator of most productions.

The overall impression was that of an impressive attempt to understand, from the vantage-point of the present, the past that is our common heritage.

This common heritage created a harmony between players and public that grew from evening to evening, becoming steadily more cordial and far-reaching.

It was as though Günter Grass's concept of a *Kulturnation* (one German nation in terms of culture or the arts) was, for a brief spell, more than mere wishful thinking.

East German leaders, who have sought for decades to draw a strict dividing line between the two German states, must have been well aware of this factor in agreeing to the unprecedented theatrical exchange between Düsseldorf and Dresden.

Yet they ran the risk. Will the intra-German arts agreement just signed (at long last) have a similar effect, that of bringing people in the two German states closer together?

A closer look at the treaty's preamble and its 15 articles is bound to counsel against expecting them to work wonders.

They are a framework for increasing and regularising intra-German cultural exchange. They are no guarantee of content, kind or quality.

The treaty text is riddled with limitations and provisos, yet West Berlin is included, with reference to the 1971 Four-Power Agreement, in the reciprocal undertaking to promote cultural cooperation.

The status of Berlin is why Bonn and Moscow have failed for years to reach agreement on a cultural treaty with the Soviet Union that has been ready to sign in every other respect.

East Germany claims to stock held by the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation are expressly disregarded and exhibitions including items on loan from the foundation are no longer to be boycotted.

(East Germany lays claim to material originally owned by museums and archives in what is now East Berlin and evacuated to the west for safe keeping during the Second World War; much of this material is now held by museums and galleries run in Berlin and the Federal Republic by the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation.)

In agreeing to treaty terms East Germany has more than set aside prestige considerations. It will find it much more difficult to refuse artists, writers and scholars from the Federal Republic permission to visit East Germany now they can refer to the terms negotiated.

The terms entitle private organisations or individuals to negotiate arts exchanges with the other German state "in keeping with existing legal provisions and practice."

So at least there are now grounds to appeal against refusal to issue a visa,

RHEINISCHE POST

and that is an opportunity the importance of which cannot be overestimated.

This year 20 projects are envisaged, details having been agreed before the treaty was signed.

The first two-year plan, a term redolent of the bureaucrats whose handiwork the treaty is (and whose verbiage makes it such painful reading at times), is not to begin until next year.

The two-year plan need not be the last word on the subject. Supplementary cultural exchanges will continue to be possible.

This is a point to which far too little attention has been paid in the debate on the treaty terms, a debate marked by fears of future official regimentation or cultural exchange along lines similar to

Continued on page 12

Deutschland über Dallas: a German film delights Britain

German TV series are catching on in Britain. Wolfgang Petersen's *The Boat* was repeated last year in response to popular demand. The BBC is now showing Edgar Reiss's *Heimat* in 11 parts. Channel 4 has screened Fassbinder's *Alexanderplatz* and will be following it this autumn with *Black Forest Clinic*.

Heimat is delighting both viewers and critics. It is probably the best received imported TV series recently shown in Britain.

The Observer called it one of the best films ever made. Its sheer length is putting no one off.

The Guardian even recommended seeing it several times over, as one must with any significant landmark.

The film is being shown at peak viewing time in 11 parts on successive evenings. Many viewers who watched the first episode out of curiosity rearranged appointments so as not to miss any part of the tale of life in a small German village over the decades.

What fascinates British viewers is less the style and standard than the "normality" of the narrative.

The view of Germany that prevails in Britain is extremely confused and irrational, ranging from *Gemütlichkeit* and *Angst* to SS Stormtroopers and from *Lied* and *Bratwurst* to *Blitzkrieg*, to name a handful of German words that have found their way into modern English.

The Gothic element discovered in the Germans by the early 19th century Romantics continues to hold sway, with chasms that opened up during the Nazi era concealed behind the German soul and sensitivity.

This is the message conveyed by countless British and American potboilers that are constantly seen on TV. The Germans as portrayed in what is made out to have been what World War II was like are as artificial and way out as characters in a horror film.

So the critics particularly acclaim *Heimat* for enabling British viewers to take an "everyday" look at the Germans and come to their own conclusions.

Derek Malcolm wrote in *The Guardian* that "what has hitherto been comprehensible only fragmentarily is here told in such a clear and human manner: how such a civilised nation could plunge the world into such dreadful disaster."

The so-called "banality" of ordinary people helps viewers to understand European history and the matter-of-fact manner in which National Socialism took root in people's lives and was later discarded.

These Nazis, he writes, are people like us, people neither better nor worse nor more stupid than us in England.

The film covers 62 years of German history and shows British viewers its continuity with the matter-of-factness of people being born and dying, of generation succeeding generation.

Heimat fills the historic breach in which the Third Reich is often viewed in isolation from German history, exercising a macabre fascination on the British.

Other eras, apart from the Weimar Republic, hardly interest the British because "nothing much happened."

They include the post-war period, but *Heimat* rectifies this lopsided view. Since 1945 the village has undergone more sweeping changes than in the previous century.

Reiss strips the word *Heimat* of the ominous aftertaste of blood and soil and emotion-laden kitsch it evokes on both sides of the Channel.

It is even finding its way into English vocabulary, standing for the place where, as the poet Robert Frost put it, "when you go there they have to let you in."

Reiss also clearly shows how dubious the concept has become.

Translating the title of *Schwarzwaldklinik* presented no problems even though one critic said *Black Forest Clinic* brought to mind visions of "medical cream-cake."

Channel 4, having screened Fassbinder's *Alexanderplatz*, is confident the Black Forest saga will be as popular in Britain as it is in Germany.

Joyce Jones, who bought the British rights for Channel 4, says: "It is outstanding entertainment that can hold its own all over the world.

"Beautiful scenery, a dramatic plot, interesting characters and, quite apart from the drama, people always like to know what life in hospital is like."

The trend toward German and other continental TV series over the past two years has been due to the fact that British buyers have largely exhausted the US market.

Imported programmes account for about 15 per cent of British viewing time, with American series still predominating. ITV's Leslie Halliwell says the main reason is that American films don't need to be dubbed, which makes them less expensive.

Screening fees are good value too. An hour of *Dallas* costs DM60,000, whereas a home-made episode of a comparable series costs 10 times as much.

No-one seems prepared to say what screening rights for German series cost, but the BBC's Gillian Geering says *Heimat* is good value even in comparison with imports from the United States.

Like most foreign films, the series was sub-titled, not dubbed. That need not be a disadvantage. *The Boat* with subtitles and the original German soundtrack was seen by eight million British viewers.

Doctors and patients at the *Black Forest Clinic* will speak English, however.

British broadcasting authorities seem tired of processing "US TV garbage," as one buyer put it. They are showing keener interest in European TV fare.

Gay Robertson discovered *Heimat* at the Venice film festival and was enthralled. She now hopes viewer ratings will be as good as they were for *The Boat*, although foreign programmes can never fully vie in popularity with British or American series.

The *Black Forest Clinic* will hopefully achieve a breakthrough in this respect. British critics who have seen the series in Germany see it as a far cry from *Heimat*.

Their views range from trivial kitsch and a flight from reality to a successful bid to challenge the popularity of US series.

One critic calls the *Black Forest Clinic* Deutschland über Dallas.

Hendrik Bebber

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 10 May 1986)

■ MUSIC

After 60 years, a maestro turns back the clock

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Vladimir Horowitz received a standing ovation at the beginning of his piano recital in Hamburg's Musikhalle this month.

It seemed that nothing had changed since his first reception in Hamburg 60 years ago. The city's music lovers were ecstatic then.

A critic wrote that there had been nothing like it since tenor Arturo Caruso sang in the city for the first time.

This time in Hamburg Horowitz won the public before he had even played a note.

That he had come at all was reason enough to cheer. In the years since his first concert, a legend has grown up around him.

His popularity has remained — even when he has done nothing at all.

Three times he stopped giving concert performances — once for 12 years — but this has only increased the clamour for his return.

He was remembered as the "tornado from the Steppes of Russia," the magician of sound with nerves strained taut.

Like a Greta Garbo of the piano, Horowitz has made few public appearances, but he has always made spectacular LPs.

One reason for the rarity of his concerts is probably his dislike of travelling.

Horowitz was born in Kiev on 1 October 1903 or 1904, his biographers disagree on the date. He left Russia in 1925.

His appearance in Hamburg comes straight after a triumphant Russian tour — the first time he has been back there since leaving.

His first successes outside his mother country were in Berlin and Hamburg.

Curiosity about him has been increased through new LP records and also because of a TV film.

The price of tickets at his Hamburg concert showed that this was much more than just a legend from the past.

The number-plates of the cars parked around the Musikhalle showed that fans from Brunswick to Berlin, from Augsburg and Düsseldorf had come and paid their 400 marks.

When Horowitz stepped on to the stage punctually just after four in the afternoon the audience of moment of truth or the afternoon of illusion.

The little man with the large bow tie had complete control of both his public and the keyboard from the outset.

There was astonishment when he played three sonatas by Alessandro Scarlatti, revealing that the master of the miniature was in fact the creator of a fragile new-found world of sound.

No-one would dispute that the score's architecture was sometimes lost in the tapestry of the music.

Horowitz conjured up sentiment but when he had to blur the melodic line in order to illuminate the sound picture then the "last romantics" had no qualms in doing so.

Members of the audience had to decide for themselves if they wanted to be bewitched that afternoon or whether they wanted to look on and see how the old master of spell-casting played his cards.

In Robert Schummann's Opus 16, *Kreisleriana*, it was soon obvious how Horowitz was highly individual in his interpretation.

The marking for the first movement, extremely agitated, disappeared behind the veil of his pedalling, but the subsidiary theme, marked "very intimate and not to fast," went straight to the heart.Horowitz pressed the third movement (marked very agitated) to the very limits as well as the coda (marked still faster), and the seventh and eighth movements seemed to be taken very slowly.

Does Horowitz have to do this or is it just that he wants to do this? Does he have to doff is cap to age or is he demonstrating his own self-awareness that the music is more important than effects from the virtuoso pianist?

One has to have faith in the magician in Horowitz. He often makes a pianistic point with a wink of the eye.

There was something of this in Franz Liszt's Schubert variations *Soirée de Vienne No. 6*, the first of his encores before the interval.

What followed was a rain shower of semi-precious stones. In the Sergey Rakhmaninov *Preludes* and the Alexander Skryabin *Etudes* Horowitz created castles of sound in the air.

The more unconventionally he sits at the piano, the more enchanting the sounds he produces from it. The more impossible his fingering, the more unbelievable the phrasing.

All this he wheedled out of his old Steinway war-horse, the piano that accompanies him on all his recital tours.

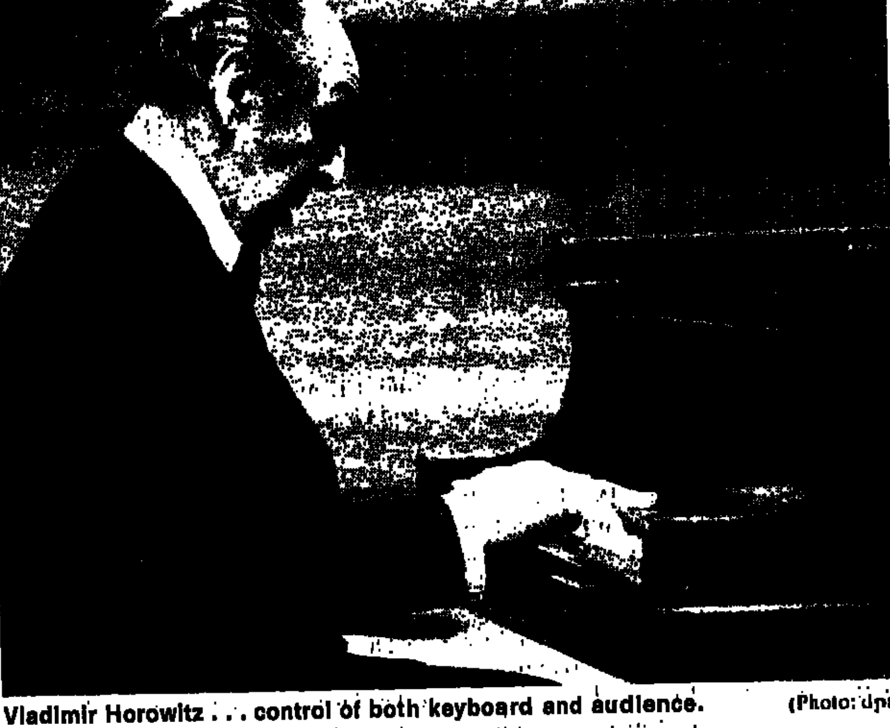
The concert concluded after two Chopin mazurkas and a trial of strength with Chopin's A Major Polonaise, Opus 53.

He did not perform this heroically, but played the octaves more mutedly than he has before, discovering a cantilena in the middle voice, finding alongside the marital superiority still more dreaminess.

He added a new variation to the many, for Horowitz never repeats himself, even when he repeats his repertoire.

Rainer Wagner

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 13 May 1986)



Vladimir Horowitz . . . control of both keyboard and audience. (Photo: dpa)

■ THE CINEMA

Elisabeth Bergner dies at 88: great actress with a unique appeal

Elisabeth Bergner, the Austrian-born Jewish actress who was prevented from working in Germany by the Nazis, has died in London at the age of 88.

She was one of the greatest actresses of the century. She had the charisma of eternal youth.

She had the rare ability to delight. People saw her her as a determined, tender, lovable, bewitching, highly intelligent, unique actress.

She was the incarnation of all Shakespeare's women and many from Strindberg. She was an irrepaceable character of the stage, a wonder of the theatre.

Elisabeth Bergner was born in Vienna on 22 August 1897 and trained there. Her star began to rise during the First World War.

She made her debut in Zürich in the 1919-1920 season under Alfred Reucker, playing Rosalind in *As You Like It.*

When critic Alfred Polgar saw her for the first time in a guest performance in Vienna he fell to his knees.

Polgar, the most poetic of German critics of the period, raved about her, but gave her the wrong Christian name of "Wilhelmine." The world was soon to know that she was called Elisabeth.

Falckenberg quickly signed her up for his Munich theatre. Max Reinhardt attracted her to Berlin.

She was like a bolt from the blue. From the outset she was an adored idol.

She embodied whatever she played. She fascinated as few actresses in this country have ever been able to do.

When Kurt Tucholsky first saw her in 1922 he wrote passionately: "Bergner, Bergner, the gallery shouted, and we who were there nodded our heads and gave her our blessing, praying that God would keep her young, beautiful and pure. And that she would keep away from films and that Berlin would not consume her."

She was indeed like someone sent from heaven. And of course she did go into films. But this hardly spoiled her at all, at least in most cases.

Everyone of her Berlin premières was a sensation; when she played Saint Joan in Shaw's play in 1924, when she magically embodied a complicated O'Neill heroine, when she played Portia against Kortner's Shylock in the *Merchant of Venice* production by Jürgen Fehling.

She inspired Alfred Klabund to write *The Circle of Chalk*, performing magically in the play.

Young girls imitated her singing, penetrating mode of speech and had their hair done in the Bergner page-boy style.

Those of us who filled the theatre galleries of the time were not the only ones to be intoxicated by her pure, quick-witted, enchanting appearances. Never before had anyone achieved such stage fame.

She was the idol of what we now call "the Golden Twenties." She was a refined, intelligent donor of good fortune. Her like has never been seen again.In 1932 when strict Berlin critics eventually began to tire of her extraordinary qualities and described her acting as "mannered," when the critics sought to topple her from her throne, as critics are wont to do, she went to England.

She learned the language and began a new career. Soon London was at her feet as Berlin had been.

The British were smitten with a Bergner intoxication. The general sense of rapture was so total that renowned critic James Agate wrote, in critical resistance as it were, that on his gravestone should be inscribed the words that he was the only person who was able to keep a clear head in Bergner's presence. He was the only one who did not fall victim totally to this great Circe.

When the Second World War began she went to Canada to make a film and remained in America. She worked with Bertolt Brecht. Occasionally she appeared on the stage.

Her third career failed to materialise, however. At the end of the War she returned to England where she lived in her beautiful house in Eaton Square until her death. But the British showed themselves to be touchy. They never forgave her for her desertion. From them on she performed very rarely in London.

But she returned as a guest performer time and time again to the scene of her earlier triumphs, Germany.

She performed in O'Neill's *Long Day's*

Continued on page 12



Elisabeth Bergner . . . In her heyday . . . direct from heaven. (Photo: TP)

■ HIEROGLYPHICS

Egyptologist lays bare the language of love of 3,000 years ago

A Cologne University Egyptologist is translating Ancient Egyptian love poems from hieroglyphics. This, he says, is a sample of what preoccupied poets 3,000 years ago:

Her neck was long and slender
Her words were infatuating
Her eyes said "come hither!"
Her breasts gleamed
Her skin shone like gold.

Professor Philippe Derchain, 59, head of the department of Egyptology at Cologne University, comes from Verviers in Belgium. He translates the poems into his native French.

They are translated into German by a Japanologist friend of Hungarian origin, Professor Geza S. Dombrady.

Otherwise, says Professor Derchain diffidently, translating hieroglyphics is not much different from translating any other language or script.

For centuries people thought the eye-catching rows of animals, figures and other readily recognisable symbols were a pictorial script.

Each pictogram was wrongly imagined to represent a word. Then, early last century, scholars came to realise this could not possibly be the case.

There were only about 700 different hieroglyphs, whereas the language of Ancient Egypt must have consisted of more words than that.

Inscriptions were found to contain

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

the names of rulers, such as Ptolemy and Cleopatra, in both hieroglyphics and Greek. Scholars slowly began to decipher them.

Hieroglyphs, they now realised, might look like pictograms but were in fact letters arranged to form words.

They were, Professor Derchain says, a script that could be used to express anything.

The words they were found to represent were much the same as words in other languages: nouns and verbs, possessive pronouns, plural forms and verbal conjugations.

That brought scholars a step further but they were still nowhere near understanding what the words meant.

"You can read the letters and words in a Turkish newspaper," says Professor Derchain, "but still not have a clue what they mean."

So Egyptologists set about unravelling Ancient Egyptian vocabulary word by word. They have still not completed the task, although dictionaries and grammars have long since been published.

"Our translations of many Ancient Egyptian words is still most inadequate," Professor Derchain says. This is partly due to some words having had several meanings.

And as Ancient Egyptian is a dead language there is no-one left to ask what meaning of a given word may have been intended in a given context.

Every little detail of Ancient Egyptian life and times must be painstakingly researched and, impressive though what Ancient Egypt has bequeathed to posterity may be, it isn't as much as you might imagine.

"Maybe 1,000 tombs covering a period of 3,000 years," says Professor Derchain, making the ratio strikingly clear.

There isn't much more to go by than the tombs and what they contained. To this day Egyptologists aren't sure whether the Ancient Egyptians married and had marriage ceremonies and wedding customs.

Scholars know very little, and the little they know is only about part of the life of the ruling class.

Professor Derchain was aware of these lacunae when he started translating Ancient Egyptian love poems about 20 years ago.

Translations already existed but he felt they were outdated. Much more was known about Ancient Egypt and European civilisation had undergone changes too.

Professor Derchain's aim is to find out as exactly as possible what the poet felt and wanted to say and to say it in a manner the present-day reader can most readily understand.

"That," he says, "presupposes endless knowledge we can only gain by dint of painstaking work on a lost civilisation such as that of Ancient Egypt."

Undismayed by the hard work, he and Professor Dombrady plan to translate more poems. "Sooner or later," he says, "it will be a complete translation of the best texts." Then, and then only, will the anthology be ready for publication.

Professor Derchain made a name for himself recently with his work on the Chester Beatty Papyrus love poems in the British Museum, but he does not see translating love poems as his main academic concern.

First and foremost, he says with a note of pride, the Cologne department concentrates on major basic research.

This includes research into links between Ancient Egypt and Ancient Greece and on the sources of Ancient Egyptian civilisation.

A poem of love. Part translation t text. (Photo: Bra

Professor Derchain classifies as trailblazing the work of Peter Behrens on Migratory Movements and Language of East Saharan Cattle Breeders.

Dr Behrens casts the theory of how Ancient Egyptian civilisation originated in a completely new light.

Contrary to widespread assumptions that the Near East was more or less the cradle of all civilisations, including the Egyptian, he concludes that it spread to Egypt from an entirely different source out of Africa.

Günther Braun

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 16 May 1986)

Continued from page 11

Journey into the Night, immortally young. She played in Terence Rattigan's *The Deep Blue Sea*. Swiftly the public again took her to its heart. Again she was incomparably sweet, bewitching and particularly charming in *Dear Liar*, playing opposite O.E. Hasse in the dramatisation of the exchange of letters between George Bernard Shaw and the actress Mrs Patrick Campbell.

Bergner was enchanting, captivating, youthful, fresh and wonderful. The old magic worked as it had never worked before.

She made a few films and played for television once or twice. She retired and kept in touch with her old friends showing rare loyalty. She took note of everything artistic that happened in Britain and Germany.

Now that she is dead her magic will be for ever ageless. She was, indeed, one of the greatest actresses of the century.

There is a line from a Shakespeare sonnet that comes to mind now that we have quoted before on the anniversary of Shakespeare's birth: "To me, fair friend, you never shall be old."

Friedrich Luft

(Die Welt, Bonn, 13 May 1986)

Continued from page 10

that of consumer goods. No-one can yet say what shape intra-German exchange of artists, scholars and curators of historic monuments and museums will take. It is almost certain to get off to a cautious start on a small scale.

It is unlikely to be as revealing as the Dresden Staatstheater's tour and East Germany is unlikely to allow representatives of the latest experimental trends in the West to tour there freely.

Yet there is no need to knuckle under to official attempts to impose state control on cultural exchange.

If, on the other hand, the overall climate of political ties were to take a dramatic turn for the worse, plans to normalise what are still tricky intra-German ties would remain no more than a statement of intent. The arts can never be more than a sideline of politics. Theoreticians are less in demand than pragmatists like Günther Beelitz, general manager of the Düsseldorf Schauspielhaus.

His optimism in seeking to go ahead with what was feasible was clearly so infectious that it eventually worked.

His company toured Dresden and Leipzig in February and the Dresden company returned the compliment, touring Düsseldorf, Hamburg and Cologne.

He deserves much of the credit for the exchange. Similar perseverance and negotiating skills will continue to be needed regardless whether or not arts agreements have been signed.

Reinhard Kill

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 10 May 1986)

■ MEDICINE

Water-treatment adherents stay faithful after 100 years despite the guffaws

Father Kneipp was a Bavarian priest who popularised water cures a century ago. Many people poke fun at Kneipp adherents who tread water and have it poured over them in spas all over Germany, but they tread on regardless.

In the centenary year of a flourishing movement lasers are reported to have proved the efficacy of Kneipp cures. But the faithful have never needed convincing.

Men with their trouser legs rolled up and women with their skirts tucked in are always good for a joke as they carefully plod round tiled basins of cold water.

Some dismiss Kneipp cures as tomfoolery. Encyclopaedias refer to them as an "unspecific health cure." Yet they are firmly established among nature cures.

The International Kneipp Association is 100 years old. It has organisations in 37 countries and roughly *150,000* members of 560 branches in the *Federal* Republic of Germany.

That makes it the largest lay health association in the country.

Wolfgang Schnizer and Reinhard Erdl of Munich University department of medical balneology and climatology are the specialists who have proved that Kneipp water cures work.

They devised laser-based probes and temperature sensors capable of exactly registering the reaction of blood vessels in the skin to hot and cold water treatment.

They have even recorded in detail blood circulation in the lips and mucous membrane of the nose and eardrum.

Their findings are the first scientific data on body reactions to hot and cold water treatment and the beneficial expansion of blood vessels it causes.

Father Kneipp is traditionally associated with the watering can he used to dispense the treatment generations have sworn by.

He is said as a poor, consumptive theology student to have been enormously impressed by a book he read in Dillingen, Swabia, in 1845.

Written by Sigmund Hahn, it dealt with The Effect of Fresh Water on the Human Body.

He carefully followed Hahn's instructions, washing in ice-cold water, walking barefoot round dew-covered meadows and taking midwinter dips in the icy Danube.

After this torture he did not even dry himself down with a towel. Despite his advanced lung condition he slipped, wet to the skin, straight back into his trousers.

Kneipp lived to tell the tale and went on to devote his life to both pastoral duties and nature cures.

After curing two fellow-students who, like him, were consumptive he no longer had the slightest doubt. His treatment worked and he concluded that "everyone wants to stay healthy and live to a ripe old age but next to no-one does anything to deserve it."

Sebastian Kneipp, soon famed for his water cures, remained a village priest and had no interest in studying medicine. Yet there was no escaping his reputation as a naturopath.

He was keenly interested in herbal as well as water cures. He devised his methods and treatments intuitively, by observation and from experience, and noted them down.

His unswerving confidence in the curative powers of nature and the life he led in this belief ("water and herbs can cure people by the thousand") failed to save his life a second time.

He died aged 76 of cancer of the bladder in 1897, having refused to undergo surgery.

Kneipp was dismissed as a quack and a charlatan by many doctors and medical specialists in his day.

For years his technique and outlook on life have undergone a renaissance. Over 100 forms of water treatment are now approved, and all are less strenuous than Kneipp's heroic first fling.

They form one of the five pillars of classic treatment: hydrotherapy. The others are movement, herbal medicine, a diet ("we eat too much fat and too much sugar") and what Kneipp saw as a "natural" way of life.

Treatment can only really work if the natural order of life's processes, such as daily, weekly and yearly rhythms, is *maintained*.

A Kneipp treatment prescribed for the individual patient is no treadmill; it is varied and strenuous.

It consists of washing, rubbing down, partial baths, full baths, pouring, inhalation, foot baths, masks, treading water, treading dew, walking in snow, compresses, exercises and massage.

Yet the basic principle of the Kneipp water cure seems disarming simple. It is that "cool or cold water stimulates the metabolism" and increases cellular oxygen consumption.

Hot baths expand the blood vessels and improve circulation in even the finest capillaries at the furthest extremities of the body.

The first baths were opened in Wörishofen, where Father Kneipp was the village priest, in 1889. By then he was treating 33,000 visitors a year.

Soon afterwards he was summoned to the Vatican by Pope Leo XIII, who took his health advice and gave him a special appointment.

Bad Wörishofen is now one of 53 Kneipp spas in Germany. During Father Kneipp's 42 years there it gained international acclaim.

Dubbed the village of the barefooted by cynics, it took this jibe in its stride as it progressed from a village to an international health resort.

There is a spirit of healthy competition, perhaps inevitably, between dyed-in-the-wool Kneipp disciples and the spas that use his techniques.

Health resorts like to see visitors return every year to take the waters. Keen Kneipp disciples are less enthusiastic about periodic treatment.

They say we all ought to work daily to ensure we stay healthy and never need to take time off in a spa for a cure.

Dieter Thierbach

(Die Welt, Bonn, 14 May 1986)

When trauma is more than just a word

When people say they have had a traumatic experience, they are usually using the term as a fashionable exaggeration.

An Aachen specialist says people who really have had a traumatic experience never forget it. They are marked for life.

Professor Andreas Ploeger, head of medicinal psychology at Aachen University Hospital, reported on findings of a long-term survey at a medical congress in Berlin.

He interviewed survivors of Lengede and Mogadishu, both names most Germans will recall as standing for a disaster that made headline news.

Lengede was a colliery in Lower Saxony where miners were trapped in October 1963 when a shaft became waterlogged.

It was a fortnight before the last 11 survivors were rescued.

Mogadishu was where a Lufthansa airliner was hijacked by terrorists in October 1977.

They were rescued after a runway shoot-out in which the plane was freed by an anti-terrorist squad flown out to Somalia.

Professor Ploeger interviewed the Lengede miners after they were rescued and again 10 years later.

They spent nine days in total darkness and lost all sense of time.

Luckily, it didn't seem as long as it was.

Some had hallucinations and imagined they were at home in their baths or in a railway compartment; others had visions of a meadow or copse.

A "sound relationship" with other members of the group helped them to stay sane (but not everyone felt he belonged).

Asked 10 years later how their lives had changed, they referred to "urgent recollections" of the catastrophe and

Bremer Nachrichten

compulsive sensations of fear that occurred in all manner of everyday situations.

Some had recurring nightmares in which they were buried alive or reminded of the war.

The hijacking of the Lufthansa airliner was an entirely different kind of threat. It was an Odyssey that took holidaymakers via Rome, Cyprus, Bahrain, Dubai and Aden to Mogadishu, where the plane was stormed after being held by the hijackers for 105 hours.

The four hijackers were so brutal that passengers obeyed implicitly, Professor Ploeger said.

The terrorists forbade passengers to talk, made them switch seats and declared seven to be Jews (including a woman with a fountain pen sporting a company emblem that looked like a Star of David).

At one stage there was an appearance of solidarity between hijackers and hijacked when the terrorists' de-

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■ SOCIETY

Fireman Werner prefers life bent over a hot stove

It is unusual for qualified men to stop working at the height of their earning powers without becoming unemployed. But some do — an estimated 10,000 in West Germany have decided to become housemen and look after the children and the home while their wives work. These few are regarded by many as pioneers of a new age. Sylvia Bergmann went to visit one such houseman, Werner Heyer, in the Ruhr centre of Oberhausen-Sterkrade, and here reports for General-Anzeiger Bonn.

He was at the station to meet me. A 30-year-old with a small child under each arm. Werner Heyer, a former fireman, is the father of one-and-a-half year old Anne and two-and-a-half year old Heike.

With the children firmly belted into their baby seats, we drove off to the gymnasium for "mother-and-child gymnastics". *Werner explained* as we went that everything is designed for mother and child. Or have you ever heard of child-father gymnastics, a father-and-child compartment or a picture book portraying a man sweating over a hot stove?

At the local swimming baths, for example, the nappy changing table is in the women's changing room. Werner has to use another room and change nappies on the floor. A small problem for a man in a women's profession. But otherwise his minor complaints are just like those of any mother.

He asks *rhetorically* what *specifically* was a housewife's task and what a houseman's task. He says that, when it's all boiled down, the family is absolutely *normal. Only the* roles have been changed. And why shouldn't they be?

We reach home after the gymnastics. The house has a yard and a large garden with apple and pear trees. There is a slide, a sand pit, a rustic-looking table and benches.

We go into the kitchen and dining room. Heike can eat her bread and butter with the finest display of table manners. But Anne, in trying to follow the example, gets most of it on her hands and fingers. Trustingly, she wipes her buttery mouth on my sleeve.

The man of the house announces that lunch will be ready in half an hour. He lights up a cigarette, pours out coffee and shoves the "pasta asciutta" into the oven. Most middays they eat light meals. *Their main meal with all the trimmings* is in the evening around 7 p.m. when mother is at home.

Then, while she relaxes and plays *with the* children, Werner sets the table. Afterwards, he cleans up the kitchen.

But this is midday. The alarm goes off, signalling that the quick meal of mince meat and noodles is cooked. Werner tests the food to make sure it isn't too hot and cuts it up small.

The children eat with enthusiasm. Not their father. He doesn't eat much at all. He explains that he has lost a lot of weight. In the first month as a houseman he came down from 80 kilos to *69 (from* about 12 stone 6 pounds to about 10st 12lb): "I just didn't get around to eating."

Since then, a year and a half after becoming a houseman, both his daily rhythm and his weight have found their level. He made the change when Anne was born.

It was different with Heike. After she was born, Werner worked and the mother kept working three days a week as a journalist. They took turns looking after Heike with occasional help from friends. But they found this triangular *arrangement not good and decided that* there should be one principle person for the children to relate to.

So they sat down and worked out point-by-point the advantages and disadvantages of one or the other giving up work.

Decisive in the end was the 56-hour week Werner worked as a fireman. It was also a job plagued by quarrelling at the fire station — and it was not as well paid as his wife's job.

Werner's employer was not prepared to release him for a certain period of time because he didn't want to set a *precedent for anyone else who might* want to become a houseman. So Werner quit.

It wasn't an easy decision. As he *cleaned out his locker and handed over* his key to his successor after 10 years, he recalls that it was a curious feeling, not pleasant at all.

But now, he had no regrets. He had of his own free will become a houseman although people thought at first he had taken the decision to avoid becoming unemployed.

"Naturally they didn't say it, but I *knew what they were thinking,*" he says.

But he found that if he explained the facts of the matter, most thought it an excellent idea.

Of course, many men told him that *they could never become* housemen. Easy to understand. After all, the job entails being on the feet most of the day, irregular hours, little chance to display concrete achievement, not much *leisure* time and no pay.

But Werner would not roll back the clock "because here I am my own master and the children give me a lot of pleasure."

It doesn't worry him too much that he is not the provider. He says the family should be seen in its totality as a community. The money belonged to them all. "And I work here at home for us all. One brings the money home and the other, it doesn't matter who, must look after the rest."

The noodles have now stopped landing exclusively in the children's stomachs and are being distributed elsewhere, a sign that the meal is over. As I *watch him clean up, he casts me a* conspiratorial glance and confides that everyone looks — family, friends, acquaintainces.

With a housewife, it would be normal for the man to stand up and help. But Werner is allowed to bustle around as he wants. It is lovely to see a man cook and clear up.

Sometimes a houseman encounters oddities: for example at the butcher's, the assistant usually shows the meat first to women customers for inspection. But in Werner's case, the it is simply wrapped up straight away. So he has to stand on his rights with the nice saleslady.

He thinks the difference may be because men often go shopping with a list *written out by their wives.*

Now it is time for the girls to go to the bathroom to get washed. Afterwards they sleep for an hour and a half. Then *Werner takes a rest* with a cigarette and a cup of coffee. His wife calls on the telephone for a few words.

What sort of social contact does he have? Not so much. None of the usual natter housewives like, for example. Why? Because the husbands might get the wrong idea.

And there is no other houseman in sight. But three times a week a woman friend of them both visits. Werner says he is not lonely. The two children prevent that.

What will happen when the two children eventually go to kindergarten and *school* and are out for half a day. What will he do then? He has thought about it. He is a qualified carpenter and would like to make wooden toys. He would al*so go to the market without having to* rush. He would like to look through more cookbooks and try out more recipes.

"I'll take the vegetables out of the deep freeze in the morning and then go and shop round at leisure." He is clearly looking forward to pottering round in the kitchen.

Now the children are awake again. The afternoon is for them. We admire the dolls' house and read from a picture book. Then it's time for play: jumping on papa's stomach, riding on his shoulders, crawling on the floor.

He likes children, does Werner. Many men do, he says. Only they are not allowed to show it.

Sylvia Bergmann

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 10 May 1986)

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mand for the release of 11 RAF guerrillas was not immediately met.

Both felt totally abandoned, especially by their nearest and dearest and, of course, by the Bonn government.

The "central trauma" the hostages suffered was when the pilot, Captain Jürgen Schumann, was shot and killed and other passengers were ritually murdered.

Finally, in unbearably cramped conditions, at temperatures of 50° C, and with toilets overflowing, preparations were made for collective death.

All 82 passengers, their hands fettered, *had alcohol* poured over *them* and were told it was so they would burn better.

After this confrontation with their own insignificance and deep demoralisation, as Professor Ploeger put it, the situation did not ease until the Bonn government agreed, three minutes before the deadline expired, to the exchange.

Fifty-three passengers interviewed said they later suffered from phobias such as claustrophobia or fear of dark-haired men.

They had nightmares of being executed and their nerves were on edge whenever they heard clattering or scraping noises.

Seven couples separated because the woman had felt the man had let her down in her hour of need.

In very few cases was Professor Ploeger told the experience had proved at all *beneficial — as, for instance,* when family ties were felt, after the rescue, to be closer, life was experienced more intensively and pleasures were enjoyed more keenly.

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 20 May 1986)

Social centres where young mothers meet

KielerNachrichten

Since I've have been at home looking after my child, the supermarket is the only place where I meet people,' *says a young housewife. It is not* an uncommon complaint.

About two thirds of young women with children under three don't want so they can give their full attention to looking after their family. Isolation is an unusual result.

Now the Baden-Württemberg State government has come up with Treffpunkt F, an idea for helping affected women to help themselves.

Treffpunkt (meeting place) F (for "Frauen", German for women; and F for Family) is, says Barbara Schäfer, the State Minister for Social Affairs, de*signed to assist contact in the* outside world for not only mothers but *also* fathers who are involved in domestic duties. Two pilot projects are planned, one *in a city and the other in a* country area.

Experience with similar projects in Munich, Salzgitter and Darmstadt has been drawn on. Here mothers organise and administer the centres themselves according to their wishes.

Under the proposed scheme, they will be able to organise *things like* meals, arrange office work *and stage* events as they want.

Centres will not be fitted out by professionals but by the mothers themselves.

Waldemar Kelberg

(Kieler Nachrichten, 10 May 1986)

Steps urged to stiffen flaccid birthrate

Not enough children are being born. *If the West German* birthrate continues, the nation's population will fall from 56.6 million today to 54.9 million by the turn of the century, says *Interior* Minister Friedrich Zimmermann.

Another 265,000 babies a year need to be born merely to maintain the present population level, he says.

With the increasing numbers of old people, a continued low birth-rate would eventually mean difficulties in providing old-age payments such as pensions. It would also lead to recruiting problems for the armed forces.

The minister said financial incentives were only of limited value: other factors such as attitudes towards marriage and the family, consumption and leisure, housing, living standards and the wish of women to work all played a role.

However, having children should not mean a sharp drop in living standards. Parenthood should be valued.

Living conditions more *conducive* to family life must be developed. It must be made easier for both men and women to come to some sort of compromise between family life and careers.

dpa

(Die Welt, Bonn, 9 May 1986)



■ HORIZONS

The 24-hour squeeze: woman MP tells how she copes in Bonn

RHEINISCHE POST

Ingeborg Hoffmann has been a CDU member of the Bundestag for the Soltau-Rotenburg constituency in Lower Saxony since 1976.

She knows well enough about the wear and tear on the nerves, the tech*niques MPs develop in order to handle* the work and the pressures.

She says: "Political involvement requires self-discipline. You have to be flexible and be able to make decisions.

"It's better to go into one matter thoroughly than get bogged down in many. But that presupposes that you are able to get organised to handle a big workload."

It was a piece of luck that we were able to meet on a Tuesday in Bonn when the Bundestag was in session. She ex*plained* that a committee meeting she had attended ended unusually early.

We sat in her office on the 10th floor of the Bundestag office block at the Tulpenfeld, close to the Bundestag, with a marvellous view over the Rhine, Parliament and the capital's government district.

Her appointment book lay on her desk, a thick handy volume full of information and names, two pages for each day of the year with a few coloured markers between the pages for special occasions.

Frau Hoffmann, 63, has an apartment within walking distance of her office.

This morning, she rose at 6.55 a.m., a *little later* than usual, and telephoned her husband in Bremen.

Every weekday morning she has spent in Bonn for the past 10 years she has rung him at this hour.

Together they lease the service station on the motorway at Grundbergsee near Bremen. Frau Hoffmann has been trained in catering and she knows only too well the load her husband has to bear in taking on most of the work in *their business so that she can involve* herself in politics.

She said: "My husband gave me all his support when our three sons were grown up and I decided I wanted to go into politics. I believed there were things I could do."

The day before the interview she was at home in Bremen. She got up at 5 a.m., did five minutes [illegible] spent five minutes exercising before taking a shower and hurrying off to catch the intercity leaving Bremen for Bonn at 6.50 a.m.

She breakfasted on the train, two rolls, just a little butter, marmalade and, of course, coffee.

Sometimes she meets fellow MPs. Then they talk shop. Occasionally there are heated arguments.

But before the intercity arrives in Bonn at 10.11 Frau Hoffmann has worked out her week's schedule with the aid of her appointments' book.

In a normal work-day Tuesday when the Bundestag is in session, she has to do *without morning coffee in her apartment.*

CDU/CSU women MPs meet at eight *in the morning* at the Tulpenfeld Restaurant for a working breakfast.

"We are not women's libbers, but there are questions and problems that particularly concern women," *she said.* "You need to be able to speak your mind and exchange views in peace."

This time the point at issue was divorce legislation.

Just before nine on the Tuesday of the interview Frau Hoffmann had breezed into the Bundeshaus (the House of Parliament) for the CDU/CSU parliamentary party foreign policy committee meeting.

She is one of the full members of the Bundestag's Foreign Affairs Committee.

It is the only committee on which she serves. She said: "You have to concentrate. One just cannot *hurry from committee meeting to committee meeting* and take in only about a half of what is said."

She is an expert on human rights and is responsible for European policies, particularly relations with Nato-partner Turkey.

The CDU/CSU foreign policy committee chairman Hans Klein said in his report that morning that the parliamen*tary* party leadership had decided to "show the flag unequivocally" in a forthcoming parliamentary debate on human rights.

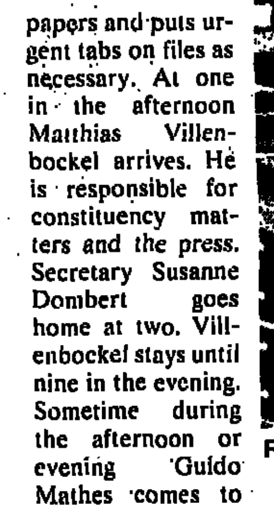
The positions that the other parties would take up could be discovered at the next sitting of the Foreign *Affairs* Committee. Frau Hoffmann would be *the main CDU/CSU speaker in the* Bundestag debate.

She outlined her ideas to the foreign policy committee, took advice and asked for amplifications.

She has arranged the two office rooms she has in the high-rise office block for MPs, just five minutes' walk from the Bundestag, along the precise ideas she has for office management.

She has one room where she can work undisturbed. In the second room, her secretariat, there are two desks for her three assistants.

At eight in the morning her secretary, *Susanne Dombert, appears. She* deals with the post, sifts through the day's appointments, looks through important papers and puts urgent tabs on files as necessary. At one in the afternoon Matthias Villenbockel arrives. He is responsible for constituency matters and the press. Secretary Susanne Dombert goes home at two. Villenbockel stays until nine in the evening. Sometime during the afternoon or evening Guido Mathes comes to the office. He is a linguist and her foreign affairs research assistant. Guido Mathes was in the office early the day of the interview. Frau Hoffmann's Bundestag speech has to be prepared. Careful research is required, a rough idea produced and alternatives listed. She writes the final version herself.





Frau Hoffmann at work in Bonn and . . .

(Photo: Presse-Service)

But first there is the routine work to *be done. Replies to letters are dictated* on the dictaphone and the appointments' book sorted out.

The spokesman for an Afghan resistance group has *written asking for an op*portunity to talk to her. The Turkish ambassador has invited her to a reception. A society has invited her to make a speech on current Bonn policies. Frau Dombert brought in coffee and cake *from the canteen. Frau Hoffmann had* to decline an invitation to a reception at the British embassy because the CDU/CSU parliamentary party committee had a meeting at three in the afternoon. Everything had to be cleared up by then for that.

She said: "Until five I make no other appointments, for at these meetings there is a lot of general information to be picked up. You have to listen carefully. You also meet ministers, state secretaries and influential colleagues."

Just after five she studied the first draft of her Bundestag speech. A colleague from another committee was waiting for her at the office.

Once more the question has come up whether motorway service stations should be leased out or privatised. Should the chair*woman of the motorway* services group of the West German Hotel and Catering Association be regarded as a lobbyist? "Certainly not," Frau Hoffmann assured her visitor. "Motorway service stations are important in a motorised society. It is in the general interest that they should function efficiently. I know something about the business: 53 per cent of the lessees are women. I also know what is politically possible and *what not."* Her guideline in political problems is to "get to understand a problem and then come to a decision or a solution that can be translated into concrete action."

. . . helping out at the motorway restaurant-service station.

(Photo: Presse-Service)

In her constituency she is known as "a woman of action with a heart."

She gave evidence of this in the 1976 election campaign. She was chosen the CDU constituency candidate from four others because she said quite clearly what she was for and what against.

She commented: "The Lower Saxons are very straightforward. Either they are *for you or against you.*"

For weeks on end she bicycled round the constituency with her supporters, making as many contacts as possible. She took the constituency away from the SPD. They regarded it as one of *their safe seats.*

"*I* was a little sorry for my SPD opponent," *she said. But* she had worked hard to win the seat, travelling between 50 and 60 kilometres a day on her bike.

From six to seven in the evening on the Tuesday evening Frau Hoffmann sat by the phone in her Bonn office for her "telephone consultation hour."

Regularly a notice appears in the constituency local papers calling on constituents to telephone her in Bonn in cases of emergency and she will ring back.

She does this regularly when she is in Bonn, not as a PR trick, but because there are urgent cases in Soltau-Rotenburg that need to be dealt with. This enhances the faith placed in her.

She went the long way round from *her office to her apartment so* as to get some fresh air. She took a shower and dressed for the evening, "to shake off the dust of the day." If she has time she goes through a couple of files.

The evening was spent at an embassy. There was political talk, but part of Frau Hoffmann's self-discipline is that she insists on getting back home at 11 in the evening. The day is long. She needs her sleep, and there is not much time for dreaming.

Nevertheless she insists that time must be found to play the piano, read a good novel, go out hiking for the day or skiing. The truth is that Frau Hoffmann looks forward to her weekend.

Saturday she deals with constituency affairs. Sunday she spends with the family. At breakfast she announced that she had tickets for the Salzburg festival.

Punctually at 6.50 on Monday morning she is off again on the intercity train *for Bonn — without breakfast of course.*

Heinz Schweden

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 10 May 1986)